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ABSTRACT

Presented in seven parts, titles in part 1 of these conference papers are: "The Uses of Educational History" (Eisele); "The Modern Assault on Public Schools" (Romanish); and "Human Rights and Education" (Padavil). In part 2, the paper titles are: "Jane Addams' Hull-House" (Colky); "Educational Policy and Conflict in the Chicago Schools" (Smith), and "Working for Cincinnati's Public Schools, 1830-1900" (Bertaux). Part 3 titles are: "The Latin Question" (Everett) and "Mother Theodore Guerin and the Education of Sister-Teachers, 1840-1856" (Scatena). Part 4 titles are: "Education for the Poor in Nineteenth Century Italy and Spain" (Wolf); "Modern Education and Social Change in the State of Kerala, India" (Thottupuram); and "The Memorandum of 1839" (Reagan). Part 5 "Schools for Scandal" (Perko) examines the Roman Catholic criticism of public schools from 1900 to 1940. In part 6, the titles are: "Veterinary Medicine from 1850 until 1890" (Lang); "Educational Engineering" (Sealander); "Spreading the Gospel" (Lakes); and "'Blest Be the Tie that Binds'" (Stith). Part 7 discusses the history of the educational system in Muncie (Indiana) and the ideological perspectives for social reconstruction of Robert Owen and William McClure. The titles are "Education in Middletown" (Jones) and "Reconstructive Themes in Robert Owen's and William MacClure's Plans for New Harmony, Indiana, 1824-1830" (Gutek). The conference keynote address "Chronology of the History of Institutional Pre-School Education in Hungary" (Vag), the program, the business meeting's minutes, and the directory of attendance are included. (DJC)

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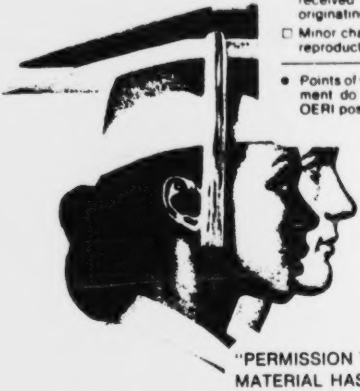

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Part I
EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND POLICY

The Uses of Educational History: Finding the Findings of Policy Implications in the Writing of Educational Historians

Chris Eisele
Illinois State University

Introduction

Courses in educational policy studies have, after a decade of growth, become an accepted part of many colleges of education. Often they replace or are associated with various foundations of education courses, i.e., history or philosophy or sociology of education.[1] The purpose of these new courses, as I understand them, is to teach students how to use the insights and methods of various disciplines to analyze or develop educational policy. These are practical courses, purposefully tied more directly to the daily professional activities of students than previous courses taught in the Foundations area. As an educational historian teaching a policy studies course in a department named Educational Administration and Foundations, I am happy to be useful, but somewhat unsure about what useful historians are supposed to do.

To help clarify my role, I am trying to answer questions about the confluence of the history of education and educational policy studies. This paper focuses on a question about policy implications in recent history of education literature. During the last decade I have noticed reviewers saying that books written by Cremin or Katz or Tyack, and other educational historians, have obvious policy implications. The following quotation from an essay review of Diane Ravitch's, *The Troubled Crusade*, is exemplary:

> Diane Ravitch, a serious neoconservative historian and educational writer, provides an intellectually respectable description of the circumstances that have, presumably, necessitated these "promising developments." This is what gives her new book, *The Troubled Crusade*, its importance today and explains its extensive and positive reception. Although modest in tone, it builds a case for Bell's agenda and provides background for other official reports.[2]

If reviewers are correct and written educational history contains policy suggestions, then the writings of historians of education might be used by others to support policy proposals. To find out if they have been used in this way, I decided to review the uses made of the writing of educational historians.

Methods

The specific question this paper attempts to answer is: How is history of education literature used by other authors, especially authors concerned with suggesting educational policy?

Step 1: I chose five widely read and published educational historians who reflect several different views of the past — Michael Katz, Clarence Karier, Diane Ravitch, Joel Spring, and David Tyack. (In the near future I will add the work of Lawrence Cremin and, to include higher education history, John Thelin, Frederick Rudolf, Walter Metzger, and Richard Hofstadter to the analysis.)

Step 2: I photocopied pages from the *Social Science Citation Index, 1971-1984*, which listed references to the work of each of the five historians. (For this presentation, only articles were considered; books cited in *S.S.C.I.* will be added later.)

Step 3: I scanned the *S.S.C.I.* entries for footnotes to historical articles by my selected educational historians. I concentrated on citations in journals that might be policy oriented and were unlikely to be the work of educational historians or other foundations faculty citing historical work. I identified 200 articles in 110 journals (journal list follows *Notes*).

Step 4: I skimmed the articles to find the references to the five selected educational historians and then created categories of different uses of their work.

Results

The following four general and overlapping categories show the most significant uses made of the writing of the five educational historians studied.

Category 1: Using educational history to help establish an argument about schools.

It is not surprising that a number of authors would use the scholarship of educational historians to support their arguments about education. Examples of this first category include the following:

1. From an article citing Karier in *Social Problems* which argues the negative effects of intelligence testing on Chicanos:

> Intelligence testing is a standard feature of educational and training activities in the United States. With its origin in American psychology's response to the military's need to rationalize and standardize manpower during World War I, the intelligence test quickly became the *great* psychological experiment destined to differentiate persons within disciplined and highly stratified social organizations (Spring, 1972). . . . Given a rapidly expanding institutional environment in America and the growing belief that what was beneficial for one institution was also beneficial for another, it was no surprise to find that, after the war, intelligence testing became the *social efficiency* component in America's educational institutions. As a result, the introduction of intelligence testing into the state supported systems of public education insured a continuing supply of human resources for production and consumption purposes (Karier, 1972).[3]

2. From an article citing Spring (and others) in the *American Journal of Sociology* which provides a Marxist critique of delinquency:

> The relations of workplace control, which take various class-related forms under capitalism, shape the consciousness and behavior of parents who repeatedly produce and reproduce control relations with children. The specific nature of these early relations of control, which define the socialization process, strongly influences the type of control structure the child will encounter when entering school; differentiated control structures within schools have been designed for the various labor needs of capitalist industry (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy and Levin 1976; Noble 1977; Spring 1972).[4]

3. From a *Public Administration Review* article on decentralization of schools using Katz:

> Basic reform of a public institution does not simply consist of apparent improvements in the quality of its professional functions; it depends on the strength of the process through which the institution is governed and its responsiveness to education needs (Katz).[5]

4. In one case, an educational historian is used by different authors to support different sides of the same issue. Rist, in the *School Review*, believes that Ravitch shows immigrants start schools to avoid the loss of their culture.[6] However, Ralph and Rubinson, in the *American Sociological Review*, believe that is Tyack's position while Ravitch holds another.

> Parochial education exemplifies the desire and commitment to maintain and reinforce religious identities and values that differed from the Protestant-dominated public schools (Tyack, 1970). It is equally plausible that the children of immigrant groups attended private schools as a result of the inability or unwillingness of public schools to incorporate them, rather than as an assertion of their independent status (Ravitch, 1978).[7]

Category 2: Using educational history to help establish arguments related to schools.

Several authors use the scholarship of educational historians to support their arguments about aspects of education more narrow than the examples in the first category. Examples from this category include the following:

1. From an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* analyzing the concept of learning disability:

> A number of other writers (e.g., Karier 1975; Karier et al. 1973; Katz 1968, 1971) have followed this general approach, looking at how American education has responded to the needs of American business. Regardless of their orientation, however, these works and others (e.g., Apple 1979) show some of the ways education in the United States helps legitimate and reproduce the social structure.
>
> This meant that treating IQ as an innate, natural attribute clearly constitutes misrecognition of the social factors influencing academic performance and through it intelligence. As Karier (1976, p. 134) put it, "It was little wonder that IQ reflected social class bias. It was, in fact, based on the social order. . . ."[8]

2. From an article using Spring in *Phi Delta Kappan* which exposes the ideological premises underlying career education:

> What these critics emphasize most, however, is that the tracking structure of formal education in the United States tends to reflect the structure of industrial production: Just as students cede control over their activities to career educators, so too are workers stratified within the industrial system. What results is a worker who can be motivated only by the promise of external rewards and status-enhancement (Spring, 1972).[9]

Category 3: Using educational history to support arguments not directly related to schooling.

Some authors use educational history to support discussions about issues not directly related to education. Often these authors are trying to reduce conceptual confusion in their own discipline. Examples include the following:

1. From an article using Katz in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* which argues that the preventive medical model is inappropriate for dealing with childhood developmental disorders:

> Furthermore, the juvenile court's social workers promised to rescue children from nasty police types, and the psychologists had those wonderful yardsticks that made the whole affair seem not only humane but also scientific. Money came forth from the vehicle recently discovered by America's corporate wealth to be quite effective in encouraging some ideas and discouraging others — the foundations. (Karier, 1972).[10]

2. In an article from the *International Journal of Health Services*, Kelman argues that the definition of health has a social base and finds an analogy in Katz's work on the origins of schools.[11]

3. From an article using Tyack in the *Journal of Police Science and Administration* another comparison is made to school history in a review of urban police history:

> Centralization of administrative authority was the hallmark of police reform. This was generally true of the Progressive movement. A similar process of centralization, for example, occurred within the public school system. Neighborhood school boards were replaced by nearly autonomous school superintendents. Centralization has profound consequences for both the schools and the police. More "rational" administrative processes also entailed a lessening of direct community input. And in the past decade both institutions have come under attack for their failure to respond to the needs of particular subcommunities (Tyack).[12]

4. From an article in the *American Review of Sociology* discussing changes in the concept of culture in the sociological literature:

> Bernstein's (1973, 1974, 1977) research in England, and numerous works on the American educational system, follow much the same line. The latter show how the US public school system has been used since 1870 to Americanize immigrant groups flowing into the urban north (Katz 1973; Carson 1975). For example, Callahan (1962) and Tyack (1974) tell how the idea of "the one best system" was borrowed from the industrial work reformer, Frederick Taylor, to implement an educational system that standardized all elements from school architecture, rules of conduct, use of time, and athletic competition, to language, curriculum, and dress codes.[13]

Category 4: Using Educational History to support policy proposals.

The examples in *Categories 1-3* were chosen as representative of a larger number of articles that used educational history in identifiable ways. In addition to the categorized articles, I found many other articles that merely cited one or more of the five historians in passing or were descriptive book reviews. The two articles that I felt were policy related are mentioned in this category or in the following section.

1. The following suggestions about school consultants are taken from an article in *Professional Psychology* concerning the role of consultants in educational policy formation:

> Therefore, our conception of school consultation requires that consultants give serious attention to these patterns of oppression and conflict in both school and society. Such attention makes clear that school change is integrally involved with societal change. Lasting change simply will not occur in schools without parallel or supporting changes in the local community . . . in the local political and economic system that defines the roles

> of clients and consumers, as well as managers, of the educational apparatus. Consultants will have to make hidden injustices visible so that these issues can be dealt with in both school and society. To fail to do so is to *engage in partisan consultation on the side of established power. And if we* all fail to do so, we continue to contribute to the kinds of social injustice that will destroy our visions of a good society.[14]

Part of the authors' argument supporting this conclusion is based on their view of the school. To support the following view they refer to, among others, Katz and Spring. "The policies and operating procedures of our schools systematically support societal stability, and the attendant oppressions of racism, sexism, class discrimination, and adult control of the young."[15]

Discussion

1. One of the most interesting discoveries from my research is the great number of scholars who now find historical research done by educational historians valid and useful. The range is obvious from both the list of journals I consulted and the variety of subjects written about. (I should also highlight that there were a number of references to the five authors in articles found in law review journals.) This finding raises another question. Has the work of educational historians always had such wide *use*? If a *Social Sciences Citation Index* were available for earlier years, I doubt educational history would have the same legitimacy. Part of our new value comes, of course, from the introduction of more sophisticated research tools into our historical research, as well as the shift in emphasis away from the exhortatory and toward a more clearly presented critical orientation. To generalize from one example, I believe Tyack's justification for his historical research in the prologue to the *One Best System* has given us currency:

   > I am addressing this study not only to specialists but also to citizens curious and concerned about how we arrived at the present crisis in urban education. We stand at a point in time when we need to examine those educational institutions and values we have taken for granted. We need to turn facts into puzzles in order to perceive alternatives both in the past and in the present. The way we understand that past profoundly shapes how we make choices today.[16]

2. A surprising finding is the unqualified acceptance by many writers of still controversial scholarship in the history of education literature. Our internal disputes over interpretation are either unknown or ignored by many (if not most) of the authors I read. For example, this quotation from an article in *Education and Urban Society*, providing a socioeconomic look at bilingual/bicultural education:

   > In fact, analyses by educational historians such as Carnoy (1974), Katz (1970), and Spring (1976) have revealed that while the stated purpose of public education is equal educational opportunity for all, public schools have been organized to deprive poor children of a quality education.[17]

I believe we should be a bit uneasy about the wholesale acceptance of still-in-dispute history that I found in much of the literature.

3. In one of the candidates for *Category 4* (which I decided to exclude because Tyack was one of the authors), Strober and Tyack say the following at the beginning and end of their article:

> We are turning a familiar fact into a historical puzzle. How and why did schoolteaching tip from a predominantly male to a female occupation, and why did top managerial positions remain male even when 85 percent of public schoolteachers were women? This brief report discusses the developing conceptualization of our work and comments on the process of interdisciplinary research. Although the inclusive dates for the study are, roughly, 1840-1970, we shall focus here on the period 1840-1900.
>
> We hope, too, that illumination of sexual asymmetry in educational employment will contribute to understanding sexual segregation in other occupations, to analysis of sexual dimensions in systems of social control in organizations, and to perceiving links between organizations and the communities that sustain them. And if it does shed light on these issues, we trust that the knowledge derived will assist in formulating policies to correct institutional sexism.[18]

4. I expected (hoped) to find many more examples of discussions similar to that of Stober and Tyack — examples of authors who believed educational history supported a course or courses of action and advocated it. Perhaps I looked in the wrong places. Perhaps no one footnotes in the policy-making corridors of power. Perhaps there has not been enough time for educational historians' impact to be felt. Perhaps educational historians have yet to figure out how to combine history with policy. One reviewer found Michael Katz's *Poverty and Policy in America* a "puzzling book, largely because Katz seeks to combine the roles of historian and moral critic."[19] Or perhaps the political climate is not right for the policy values expressed by the majority of educational historians.

5. This last "perhaps" takes us back to my opening example of Meier's review of Ravitch's *The Troubled Crusade*, a book which, at least to Meier, built a case for then Secretary of Education Bell's agenda — a term I am interpreting as policy. Ravitch strongly demurs from Meier's interpretation of her book. "Contrary to her [Meier's] assertions, *The Troubled Crusade* contains no policy recommendations, no visions of the future (corporate or otherwise), no pedagogical prescriptions; it is a history."[20] Perhaps educational history is not yet successful at influencing policy because policy-makers mirror Ravitch's rather naive view and think what they are reading is still *only* history.

Conclusion

I have recently had a somewhat rare and pleasing experience as a policy studies oriented historian of education. A student in a doctoral seminar reversed his position on a policy issue *just* from a reading of the primary sources. The student, a public school superintendent, went from favoring merit pay to opposing it after reading primary accounts of previous attempts to install merit pay systems. My opposition to merit pay was known to the student when he favored it, so I don't think I personally had any influence on his change. But I hope the questions I ask students to answer in their papers contributed to his wise change of position.

In some ways, what I and others are engaged in when teaching history of educational policy courses is the creation of "applied historians," described this way by Daniel Resnick. "They must address themselves to contemporary public issues, bringing to them a historical perspective; they should direct their work to policy-makers and concerned laity in a defined area of debate; and they should draw from their policy analysis a sense of the alternative courses of action that lie before the public."[21] I hope that my student superintendent (although not trained to be an academic historian) will continue to fulfill the three criteria Resnick set down by turning to primary sources and educational historians as he faces other policy decisions.

My reading of Katz, Karier, Ravitch, Spring, and Tyack suggests that they have each become what Resnick describes as an applied historian. In the words of Peter Stearns (introducing an issue of the *Journal of Social History* devoted to applied history), they have moved beyond the "conventional" historical way of "increasing general wisdom and a sense of how the world works."[22] Unfortunately, if my research is accurate, although the rest of the academic world is making use of the writing of educational historians to support its own arguments, it is not yet applying it to the formulation of educational policy.

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"The Modern Assault on Public Schools: History Revisited"

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The public schools find themselves in the eye of a storm of controversy that promises to affect their nature and status well into the 21st century. The core of the dispute centers on the role, mission, and quality of public education. Ultimately the issue will be assessed by future educational historians but it is clear that the institution has been roundly chastised and critics offer an abundance of proposed reforms.

Criticisms of public education are not a uniquely recent phenomenon and in a free society such criticisms should be heard and understood. In the 1980's, however, a chorus of voices has assailed the public schools in drumbeat-like fashion.

This essay examines the ideological thrust behind a considerable portion of modern educational criticisms that possess remarkable similarities to earlier challenges. The investigation identifies earlier criticisms in comparison to their present day counter parts and begins by turning to a simple law of physics. That is, in order for an object to fall, there must be a higher point from which the fall occurs. In other words, if the quality of schools declined precipitously enough to cause the nation to be at risk, there has to be some earlier point of superior performance against which the modern decline is measured.

The quantity of attention heaped on the schools creates an ideal situation for educators to capture the nation's interest because many believe the opportunity has not been present in this way for generations. Yet one informed observer in 1952 claimed that the consideration given to basic educational issues at the time was more widespread than any period since the days of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard.[1]

In examining modern criticisms of education Seymour B. Sarason reflected on past eras of educational scapegoating and remarked, "I am forced to the conclusion that as a societal problem scientific illiteracy is far less serious than the ahistorical stance."[2] The furor over the question of educational quality in the 1950's prompted one scholar to state that "indeed, schools today are not as they used to be, and frankly, they never were for that matter."[3]

The 1950's were selected for analysis for two reasons. One is that the decline of SAT scores began in the early 1960's which means that prior to that time things presumably were in a better state of affairs. The second reason is that the 1950's also represent a period when the public was mesmerized by very conservative political passions not unlike the present. That makes the ideological comparisons more logical. The topics chosen include general criticisms of school quality, teacher quality, and secularism/progressivism and John Dewey. The paper begins with a description of the ideology from which the criticisms were launched during the 1950's.

Two Schools of Conservative Thought

Before turning to the nature of the criticisms, it is important to consider the kind of criticisms under review. While some criticisms seem to be perennial (e.g., schools need to devote more time to the basics), others reflect ideological or political leanings. It is necessary for the purposes of this analysis, however, to provide two separate categories of conservative critique.

Philosophic conservatives constitute one group. Conservative in philosophy and orientation it looks to the past for solutions to the present and future. Educationally it is a position wedded to academic tradition which favors a liberal arts education based on traditional subjects or disciplines. It holds a strong belief in academic rigor and tends to be skeptical of teaching methods that depart from time honored practices such as lecture. The emphasis in education is on the intellectual side and though there is a stated desire for the young to develop their higher cognitive powers, they are not expected to begin thinking critically until the mind has been properly trained and has in its possession an adequate knowledge base.

Philosophically, this group finds itself at odds with the ideas of John Dewey.

Nonetheless, the philosophic conservative has no inherent enmity for the concept of popular education. Many, in fact, support it and while they lack enthusiasm for the curriculum and methods in vogue, their energies are devoted to reforming schools by looking to customs from the past. The people in this group would likely be at home with the ideals and recommendations of the Committee of Ten before the turn of the century. Robert Hutchins and Mortimer Adler are examples from this perspective.

The other group, and the primary focus of this paper, can be characterized as conservative ideologues of the right. This group finds the proposition of public education repugnant. In the 1980's it has found some quarters within religious fundamentalism as its strongest ally.

Its opposition to public education grows out of a long held distrust of government, especially at the federal level, and a strain of libertarianism that loathes taxation for any purposes, save military ones. While it has softened its fear of the federal government since the election of Ronald Reagan, especially over the prospect of increased tax monies for religious schools, the language of this group continues to paint government as public enemy number one. They refer to public schools as government schools and consequently favor the "withering away" of public education.[4]

A popular focus of the right in the present era is the concept of secular humanism. It is described by the right as a religion, a godless religion, that has no moral rudder. A major tenet of the 'religion' of secular humanism, according to this view, is that it adheres to a belief in evolutionary science. Linked to that is the assertion that the public schools fail to teach the basics (3 R's), they fail to teach ''traditional'' family values, use subversive textbooks, and if not openly unpatriotic, they're at best soft on communism.

This actually represents an updated version of earlier cries.[5] A classic example of this claim was offered by Robert E. Kahroff in his 1952 book *This Farce Called Education*. He described the beliefs of the typical elementary school teacher by stating,

> She believes Jimmy is nothing else than the result of an evolutionary process. He is living in a society which is also the result of an evolutionary process. Actually, he is no different from any other kind of animal, such as a dog or cat, except that his nervous system, as a result of this evolutionary process, has developed a little better or a little farther.[6]

He later adds, ''Some of you may be wondering: Where does God fit into this thing? How about the ten commandments as a moral law? The answers are, God is not recognized as an extant being. Since He[sic] does not exit, how could He have given the ten commandments?''[7]

In general, however, most of the assault of the 1950's centered on the quality of education and as one might suspect, it was found wanting. There is a remarkable parallel in the rhetoric between then and now as well.[8] That's especially true regarding the goal of using the public school to solve social and economic problems.

A typical example of this was offered by John Keats in the opening paragraph of *Schools Without Scholars*. It describes a group of people discussing the quality of public schools and the analysis contained the popular lamentations: schools weren't teaching reading and writing, nor enough science, and would soon reduce the nation to a second-rate power. Keats then suggests that ''A disinterested foreign observer arrived in our living room might charitably have concluded that our public schools were engaged in a criminal conspiracy to subvert the nation.''[9] Ironically, ''A Nation At Risk'' concluded likewise a generation later.

Often, the line of attack related to standards of achievement. As evidence, protaganists cited cases of high school students who couldn't read or couldn't add or who generally had the knowledge of a person whose entire life had been spent in a cave.[10] This was a common tact which made use of evidence that could not easily be substantiated nor, consequently, rebuted. For instance, one writer averred:

> To illustrate my point I would like to tell you about some of the students that[sic] I have taught as seniors in high school: some had no idea of the location of the various states of the United States in relation to their own (one girl thought that Vermont was on the Mexican border). Others did not know the alphabet (one student could not get past C). Very few (if any) could read the newspaper intelligently . . . Many of them misspelled half the words over two letters that they used in writing their homework (they were admittedly too lazy to look up the correct spelling in the dictionary). An amazing percentage (over 90) could not copy correctly out of a book. Some of the boys thought that 75 percent of the girls in the high school that they attended were sexually promiscuous.[11]

Another critic claimed that a teacher of commercial subjects in New York questioned thirteen personnel managers and found they all agreed that the average commercial graduate could not do 'mental arithmetic and simple fractions' and was unable to use a dictionary because of a lack of knowledge regarding the order of the letters in the alphabet. Spelling, obviously, was also a problem.[12]

As further evidence of the tawdry state of public education, Dr. W.E. Blackburn, then head of the Department of Physical Sciences at Murray State College in Kentucky, was quoted to assert that ninety-four college teachers of natural science in Kentucky claimed that entering students in 1950 were deficient in reading, writing and speaking English. They were said also to have poor ability in arithmetic, algebra and natural science and were simply, in general, poorly prepared for college.[13]

The net effect of this tactic is to make claims that cannot easily be refuted since the data are the result of personal experiences to which others lack access. From there, it is easy for critics to simply generalize their perceptions and make their case that all of public education is of poor quality.

An extreme critic was Robert Cyrus Hoiles, owner of a chain of newspapers in Texas, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Ohio. His call was for the abolition of the public schools under an absolutist libertarian notion that taxation is a means of force to which no individual ought to be subject. Since he didn't give his personal blessing to the Constitution in its entirety, he saw it as a violation of individual liberty to bind him to it. The answer to the school issue, in his view, was to have private schools "that can teach voluntary ways of doing things . . . if we had private schools, people would buy education just as they do bread."[14]

This has a surprisingly similar ring to the rationale for modern voucher plans offered by free market economist Milton Friedman and others. Thad Ashley, editor of the editorial page of the Colorado Springs *GAZETTE-TELEGRAPH* (a Hoiles Newspaper) offered a similar proposal a generation earlier: "If we really want to improve schools, we should do the teachers, the officials, the parents, and, above all, the children, the favor of permitting private enterprise to benefit schools as it has benefited every other enterprise it has been given a chance to run."[15]

In addition, Hoiles railed against the texts used in public schools and claimed that they, and the schools, embraced the ways of communism.[16] Here one can see some of the intellectual ancestry to people such as Mel and Norma Gabler, Texas's current leading right wing critics of textbooks and public schools.[17]

It is interesting to note that following WWII many critics began to compare American schools with their Soviet counterparts just as the Japanese have been compared in recent years.[18] The earlier comparisons brought calls for increased attention to science and technology, just as Japanese comparisons have done. Moreover, the Soviet parallels began long before Sputnik sent shock waves through the United States. Conservative ideologues have turned such national discussions toward their own ends by using the opportunities to further challenge the existence of public schools.

Modern attacks on education from far right individuals have had other models from the 1950's to draw upon. One group, 'The Intercollegiate Society of Individualists,' had Frank Chodorov as President and William F. Buckley, Jr. as Vice-President. It was committed to the opposition to collectivism, Marxism and communists. Another group, 'National Students for MacArthur Clubs,' was formed to promote Christian principles, free enterprise, the Constitution and strong foreign policy.[19] Reed Irvine's new watchdog organization 'Accuracy in Academia,' devoted to spying on college classrooms and professors, has shades of these earlier groups in its philosophy.

One can see from this sample of criticisms how persistent they can be from era to era. Clearly, criticisms flow from a person's or group's Weltanchauung and therefore one should expect that a given ideology should produce fairly consistent criticisms of public policy or institutions. For the far right, that has meant unyielding opposition to the concept of the common school.

Teachers As Targets

As stated previously, a favorite line of assault against the schools has focused on quality. Nowhere has that been more apparent than in the area of teacher quality. If the teachers are bad, the schools can't be good. It is a proposition that is logically attractive. As with the testimony of critics regarding poor student performance, however, the tact is to offer personal experiences or accounts and then generalize those into a conclusion about teachers as a whole.

One of the most popular recent claims used to berate the quality of the teaching profession is to suggest that all the good ones are leaving the field. Yet the assertion that the "brightest" have been leaving the profession has been made for as long as research exists in this century.[20]

More important, however, is the fact that far right critics have lambasted teacher quality when the best evidence indicated that the quality of teacher aspirants was above many other fields.[21]

It is difficult to find a period throughout American history when teachers, as a whole, were held in high regard. One writer in the early American period wrote, "It is a general plague and complaint of the whole land that for one discreet and able teacher you shall find twenty ignorant and careless."[22] Robert Coram of Delaware, upon sharing his thoughts about schools outside the large towns in the late 18th century declared they were despicable and wretched and that the teachers were shamefully deficient.[23] Apparently things weren't much better in the cities according to New York's Superintendent of Common Schools who said in 1843 that some schools hadn't been inspected in twenty years and some of them had certified teachers who could not add. He noted that not only were some ignorant, they were intemperate as well.[24]

In the 1950's, nonetheless, the intellectual ability of those entering teaching was seemingly as low as possible. According to research by the Educational Testing Service, first year college students in education scored lowest of all majors with only 27% passing the ETS exam. Engineering had 68%, physical science 64%, biological sciences 59%, social sciences 57%, humanities 52%, general arts 48%, business 42%, and agriculture 37%.[25] Such a state of affairs caused Albert Lynd to exclaim, "surely something can be done to narrow the present abysmal gap between the average endowments of those minds attracted to Educationism and the average of those attracted to the genuinely learned professions."[26]

Closely tied to the conditions among the teaching cadre have been the colleges of education. Commonly referred to as "Educationists" by detractors, professors of education and programs for teacher certification have been an outlet for conservative rancor. Their claim is that education courses are mindless, boring, lacking in challenge and overall are of little value.[27] Moreover, schools of education are accused of having a stranglehold over certification — a charge now patently false in many states that have revised licensure procedures.

In any case, teacher education was an object of derision during the 1950's. It was generally held to be a barrier to a sound liberal arts training since it was perceived to sap credits that would otherwise be taken in liberal arts subjects. Beyond that colleges of education were skewered for introducing teaching methods and an educational philosophy which were seen as undermining the very fabric of society.

John Dewey, Progressivism, and Secularism

Opposition to the concept of a common school has many roots, and ideological objections can range from the left to the right. But far right conservatives have tended to wed a fear of secularism to their political agenda. In the 1980's the buzz word has become 'secular humanism'. As indicated previously it represents, especially to religious fundamentalists, a philosophy that is godless, erodes traditional family values, teaches a moral relativism, and basically unleashes the primitive instincts of the young due to a lack of sound discipline.

In the 1950's the term 'progressive education' came to be used by the right much as secular humanism is today. Secular humanism is attributed to the Humanist Manifestoes which had many signers. The 1950's had a single figure who could be blamed for the evils of progressive education and that was the philosopher John Dewey.

Dewey was seen by the far right as the embodiment of evil whose dangerous thoughts were manifested through the vehicle of progressive education. Never mind that Dewey refused to become a member of the Progressive Education Association for several decades owing to his basic disagreement with what it pursued educationally. He was known as the father of progressive education and labels were good enough to levy the salvos at the time.

It is important to distinguish, again, between philosophic conservatives and ideologues of the far right. There were many scholars who balked at Dewey's teachings on the basis of philosophic differences. That is, pragmatism and instrumentalism, the bases of Dewey's educational thinking, were rejected by people who were philosophic idealists, for example.[28] They were able to make a distinction between Dewey's philosophical and theological positions and his educational teachings. Arthur Bestor made references to Dewey in order to strengthen his own call for sound intellectual preparation of the young, even though Bestor was a strong critic of progressive education.

In some circles during the 1950's, people criticized school practices and didn't feel a need to smear Dewey in the process. Clearly many of the critics were familiar with Dewey and knew the schools weren't practicing his preachings. One is tempted to suspect that it was more comfortable for some to attack progressive education without mentioning Dewey by name as long as he was alive and able to give a response.

Nonetheless, Dewey was the target of much animus during the 1950's and continues to be a favorite whipping post of the religious right. Tim Lahaye, in a throw back to McCarthyism, writes: "Personally, I do not know if the conspiracy theory has any validity. I am aware, however, that John Dewey, the father of progressive education, . . . was a committed socialist."[29] To the far right, socialist is a synonym for "Marxist-Leninist." Taking that a step further is a recent claim that "Psychology and psychiatry both came directly from Russia . . . The Russians experimented on animals, but the U.S. public schools went one better and turned the schools into laboratories with our kids as guinea pigs. John Dewey brought these theories here and used them as change agents for our children to create a socialist state."[30]

Another critic from the religious right, Richard A. Baer, Jr., finds the religion of secular humanism in the public schools ('government' schools according to Baer) and neatly makes the connection to Dewey:

> John Dewey was not at all bashful about describing his own atheistic and humanistic beliefs . . . as constituting a 'religious faith,' and he also makes clear that he intended to make this faith explicit and militant.[11]

By pinning the perceived ills of the schools on the contributions of John Dewey and then distorting Dewey's beliefs and teachings, the right wing is able to create a convenient hate symbol. The symbol is then used to generate fear of public schools, generate contributions to right wing coffers, and inflate enrollments at fundamentalist schools.

Conclusion

In some ways history has a pattern of repetition. The ebb and flow of events cause swings of the political pendulum. Within the swings, however, can be found the unswerving commitment of the ideologue: 'The True Believer' who is dedicated to the holy cause (depicted in terms of warfare and victory) and who is unyielding in that dedication.

The primary point to be made is that quality undergirds all arguments which oppose public education. It is used as a means for persuasion in the debate while the genuine reasons for favoring other patterns of schooling are ideological. Jerry Falwell opposes public schools even if they are academically superior to any other schools in the land. Yet he, and others of his ilk, make their case to the public by using statistics and other claims related to poor quality. They season their pitch by adding warnings about God's absence from public classrooms.

This debate will not disappear in the near future because its roots reveal the tensions that surround public institutions in a pluralistic society. Moreover, groups vying for dominance in the society always seek to create the schools in their own image.

Before public policy is altered, however, a look to the past can be instructive. When criticisms of the schools are made, it should be the obligation of the critics to provide evidence to support the claims. If schools are worse than the good old days, there must be some standards for evaluation, unless we are content to allow those with the loudest voices or the most television air time to determine educational policy based on narrow, sectarian interests.

Notes

[1] Hollis L. Caswell, "The Great Reappraisal of Public Education," *Teachers College Record*, 54 (October 1952):22.

[2] Herold C. Hunt, "Major Problems of the Schools," *Educational Record*, 35 (January 1954):15.

[3] Seymour B. Sarason, *Schooling in America: Scapegoat and Salvation* (New York, 1983), p. 4.

[4] Richard A. Baer, Jr., "Commentary," *Social Education*, 50(March 1986), pp. 164-65.

[5] For views that give evidence to the claims of this paper, see John C. Whimney, "Critical Issues in Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 34(December 1952):87-93; Henry H. Hill, "Organized Propaganda Against the Public Schools," *National Parent Teacher*, 45(April 1951):29-30; J. Murray Lee, "Anticipating 'Progressive Education' Attacks," *Progressive Education*, 29(January 1952):116-118; Henry I. Willett, "Public Schools Under Pressure," *Atlantic Monthly*, (October 1954):57-62; and "Modern Teaching Accused and Defended in Court," *Nation's Schools*, 45(May 1950):23-28.

[6] Robert E. Kahroll, *This Farce Called Education* (New York, 1052):17.

[7] Ibid., p. 23.

[8] Joel Spring, "Education and the Sony War," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 65(April 1984):536.

[9] John Keats, *Schools Without Scholars* (Boston:1958), p. 1.

[10] Caswell, "The Great Appraisal," p. 13.

[11] Karhroff, *This Farce Called Education*, pp. 9-10.

[12] Mortimer Smith, *The Diminished Mind* (Chicago:1954), p. 12.

[13] Ibid., p. 13.

[14] For a fuller explanation, see H. Gordon Hullfish and Philip G. Smith, *Reflective Thinking: The Method of Education*, (New York, 1961), p. 13.

[15] Lewis C. Fay, "Abolish Public Schools," *Nation's Schools*, 50 (August 1952): 31.

[16] Robert A. Skaife, "Current Attacks on Education Introduce Some Different Names and New Strategies," *Nation's Schools*, 50(March 1954):44.

[17] Fay, "Abolish Public Schools," p. 34.

[18] Michael Scott Cain, "Crazies At The Gate: The Religious Right and the Schools," *The Humanist*, (July/Aug. 1983):17.

[19] Skaife, "Current Attacks on Education," p. 44.

[20] W. Timothy Weaver, "Solving the Problem of Teacher Quality, Part One," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 66(October 1984):108-115.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Willard Elsbree, *The American Teacher* (New York:1939), p. 33.

[23] Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York:1983), p. 8.

[24] David Imig, "Briefing:Education Students," *AACTE Briefs*, October 1983. Imig summarizes a wide variety of research sources that testify to the quality of teacher education candidates.

[25] Smith, *The Diminished Mind*, p. 88.

[26] Albert Lynd, *Quackery in the Public Schools* (Boston:1950), p. 257.

[27] Harold L. Clapp, "The Stranglehold on Education," in Mortimer Smith, ed., *The Public Schools in Crisis* (Chicago:1956), and Lynd, *Quackery in the Public Schools*, p. 256.

[28] For examples of reasoned arguments against Dewey's position see Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands* (Urbana, 1953) and David Holden, "John Dewey and His Aims of Education," in Mortimer Smith, ed., *The Public Schools in Crisis* (Chicago:1956).

[29] Tim Lahaye, quoted by Martin E. Marty in *Christian Century* January 26, 1983, p. 79.

[30] Baer, "Commentary," p. 165.

Human Rights and Education: A Historical Perspective

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Introduction

Although the notion of human rights is notoriously vague and abstract especially at the theoretical level, it is less vague and very relevant at the practical level, particularly in the context of education. This fundamental premise shall be examined by a review of the historical and present antecedents of human rights and how they have evolved and been modified through time. A second premise shall be developed that the world has become so interdependent that the abstract debates are over; immediate action needs to be taken to develop and utilize human rights education as a means to withstand the various problems and pressures that humans are faced with in the contemporary world. I shall begin with the theoretical level, consider some of the problems, and then discuss human rights at the practical level as well as its applications to education.

Interpretations of Rights

In the theoretical evolution of rights, various interpretations have been given. One of the interpretations views rights as connected with power. The tendency to identify rights with power can be traced back to both Hobbes and Spinoza. For Hobbes, the right of nature was unlimited, one in which everyone had the right "even to one another's body." Hobbes was led to believe that such unlimited rights in the state of nature would lead to the "war of all against all." Hence, the first thing a rational person would do with his right of nature is to get rid of it by transferring that right to the sovereign who would then make laws and protect persons of his subjects (Leviathan). Spinoza is also very clear on the connection between right and power (Tractatus Politicus II.4). Even for Hume, the possession of some degree of power is a necessary condition for having a right (Treatise on Human Nature III, part 2, Ch. 12). Interpretations of rights as power are not without difficulties. It is questionable whether the possession of the power to compel compliance is part of the meaning of having a right. A paralyzed person, for instance, may be powerless to intervene as a thief takes possession of his gold watch and yet that person can be said to have a right to possession of his watch. Conversely, the possession of power cannot be the justification of a claim to right.

Another interpretation argues that rights are correlative of duties. Bentham held the view that duties and obligations are primary, and rights are derivative or secondary (Works III, 159). A number of modern authors (Lloyd, 1964; Hospers, 1961; Olafson, 1973) also take Bentham's view. There are also others (Benn & Peters, 1959) who take the view that rights and duties are merely different names for the same normative relation, according to the point of view from which it is regarded. Although some rights are correlative of duties, not all rights are correlative of duties or derived from duties. Such duties as duties of imperfect obligation; civic duties, such as paying taxes; duties to nonrational creatures; and duties to third party beneficiaries do not create rights (Wringe, 1981).

A third interpretation speaks of rights as claims (Mayo, 1967). The proponents of this interpretation point out that rights are not any claims but justified or justifiable claims and that they can be claimed on behalf of all humans. The rights of children, for instance, is advanced on this basis (Wringe, 1981). Some of the objections to this interpretation of rights are based on the argument that rights can exist without being claimed and conversely, rights are actually claimed when one doesn't have them (Donnelly, 1985).

Although various interpretations of rights shed light on certain aspects of rights, they are not without difficulties.

Theories of Rights

Some of the widely discussed theories of rights include positivist theories and theories of natural and human rights. Positive rights are generally characterized as those rights that are conferred and enforced by a system of law that prevails in any country. They are referred to as facts, what people actually have (Cranston, 1979). Positivists such as Bentham and Burke went so far as to suggest that natural rights are mere abstractions. "Right is the child of law, from real laws come real rights, but from imaginary laws, from laws of nature come imaginary rights — Natural rights is simple nonsense," said Bentham (Works III, 59).

The idea of natural rights, on the other hand, became prominent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were advanced in relation to the natural laws. This was not something new. Stoics, Greeks, and the Scholastic — Aquinas in particular — had already advanced the notion of nature law as those immutable laws which the reflective reason could discover. Since all possessed the faculty of reason, these laws were accessible to all. Their idea of natural rights was so derived from those immutable laws. The so-called natural laws in the seventeenth century, however, was conceptualized in terms of the Newtonian model of the universe. The natural universe was analogous to a clock or machine in that it was governed by precise mathematical laws. Accordingly, it was believed that the "natural laws" were based on self-evident axioms about man's nature and place in the universe. Hence these laws were held to be universal and valid without regard to time and place. The seventeenth and eighteenth century theory of natural rights was in fact a theory of natural laws. Thus, the idea of right was said to belong to "man" as such based on these natural laws. Whatever positive rights are granted a citizen of a state, his natural rights go with him wherever he goes. Hence, these natural rights are said to be inalienable and indefeasible.

Since natural rights are said to be applicable to "man" as such without regard to time and place, they had to be vague enough to fit different context and times. This is often pointed out as a weakness of natural rights especially when it is contrasted with positive rights which are clear, precise, and enforceable.

A serious weakness of positive rights, however, is that they do not guarantee the rightness or justness about them. Moral considerations have nothing to do with the validity of natural or human rights (Cranston, 1979). Unjust systems of positive rights that existed and still exist in many parts of the world clearly illustrate this.

Despite the vague and abstract characteristics of natural rights, its development was the result of the growing sense of progress of the human race. The idea emerged fully into the politics toward the end of the eighteenth century. The American Declaration of Independence (1776), and the French Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) embodied the ideas of natural rights. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, natural rights came under heavy attack. The doctrine of natural rights was said to be excessively abstract. Having a right did not necessarily entail the enjoyment of it. It did not take the conditions of attainment of these rights into consideration. It was like saying that a poor man has the right to enjoy a vacation in Monte Carlo. In theory, yes, but in practice he/she will not be able to enjoy this right because of that person's economic condition.

Realistic and Practical Approaches to Natural Rights and Human Rights

This shift from the seventeenth and eighteenth century conceptions of natural rights needs to be understood in the context of various developments that took place toward the beginning of the twentieth century. The Darwinian and Einsteinian model of the universe that emerged at that time period saw the universe as changing and evolving. It was no longer seen as a machine or clock but as an organism which changes and grows. Natural rights in this perspective were not absolute, but were seen as evolving. Individuals were seen not as atomistic, but as interdependent. The idea of natural rights as evolving and modifiable provided a much more realistic and broader conception than the one that existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The practical impetus for the revival of the importance of natural rights came in the context of human tragedies brought about by evils such as Nazism and Facism. Since positive rights are conferred and enforced by the system of law that prevails in a country, the rightness and wrongness of that system of laws was contingent upon the states that make them. This creates the obvious dilemma that there is no guarantee about the morality of positive rights. It is in response to this predicament that the United Nations drafted and approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. This document, which contains 30 articles, emphasized the moral rights of humans. They are referred to as human rights and these are basically a reassertion and reinterpretation of the idea of natural rights.

There are two types of objections that are raised against the modern formulations of human rights such as the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. One type of objection comes from those who take a positivist approach to rights. They view human rights with stark skepticism as Bentham did in regard to the natural rights. In this view, since positive rights need a system of positive law interpretations and positive law enforcement to become a reality, the world-wide enjoyment of human rights as positive rights depends on the establishment of world-wide institutions with necessary powers. And since there is as yet no supranational institution that can uphold and enforce human rights for everyone, universal declarations of human rights serve no purpose.

It may be conceded to some extent that various declarations, conventions, treaties and protocols made by the United Nations lack sharp teeth. However, they are not toothless. There are several indications to show that U.N. declarations are being taken seriously. Many nations, for instance, have incorporated the basic tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into their constitutions, customary laws, and legal systems. Almost all countries in the world now have accepted Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (right to education). Researchers (Ramirez and Boli-Bennet, 1982) point out that practically every national constitution states that education is both an obligation of the state and a right and duty of citizens. The U.N. declarations of human rights have been used as guidelines in reviewing particular laws in particular countries. The U.N. declaration concerning the rights of the mentally retarded persons and disabled persons, for example, are now part of the law of the United States with the passage of PL 94-142 in 1975. More and more countries have come to regard the U.N. declarations as guiding norms. The fact that membership in the U.N. has increased to 159 since the original membership of 51 in 1948, is also indicative of the importance that member countries attach to the moral leadership of the U.N. Furthermore, various international disputes are settled on the basis of the declarations and treaties made by the U.N. The fact that many nations are highly sensitive about public opinion on the cases of human rights violations show that human rights are taken seriously. Although the U.N. declarations are not legally binding, they nevertheless perform an important function of being the moral conscience of humanity.

The second type of objection is raised at the theoretical and conceptual level. In the modern formulations, human rights is characterized as those rights which belong to every man, woman, and child simply because each of them is a person, a human being (Maritain, 1951; Branson, 1982). In these formulations, human rights are not rights that are conferred exclusively on its members by a particular society. It is said to transcend positive rights. They are seen as moral rights which are derived from the humanness of every human being.

Generations of philosophers and theorists have argued that the notion of human nature abstracted from the environment would be impossible to support. It is also said to be inextricably bound up with historical factors. The notion of human nature is considered very complex and abstract like the notions of Being, Truth, Essence, Reality and so on. Discussions at this level get nowhere.

Although philosophically and theoretically there is a problem in defining human nature, we normally have no difficulty in practice in recognizing certain conditions as being essential to achieving the humanness of every person. There is historical evidence to suggest that certain basic human rights were considered an essential part of being human. The ancient code of Hammurabi, Laws of Manu, the Ten Commandments, the Roman conception of Jus Gentium, the Magna Carta in the Middle Ages, the English Bill of Rights, the American Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are all illustrations of the practical approach to and concern with the equal dignity and rights of humans.

The unwillingness on the part of certain dominant and powerful groups to acknowledge equal dignity and rights of persons of certain minority groups, races, colors and so on is a historic fact. As late as 1595 intellectuals at the famous University of Wittenberg debated whether women, by any stretch of imagination, could be classified as humans. The issue, apparently was left undecided (Smith, 1930). The practices such as slavery, apartheid, and so on are all illustrations of the unwillingness on the part of some to acknowledge the equal dignity and rights of all humans.

We are now living in an era in which developments in science, technology, travel, communication and so on are making the world increasingly smaller and interdependent. These factors have brought about a change in attitude as well. There is probably greater breadth of knowledge, toleration, and a tendency to transcend the various differences and to focus on the commonalities in humans. The common interest in the right to survival, in view of the grim task of tackling various problems, has brought the issue of human rights from the high-level, theoretical abstractions to a very down-to-earth, practical level. Nations, for example, have stockpiled nuclear weapons which could destroy our world 30 times over. In the last century alone we have witnessed a doubling of the world's population to a figure now estimated at about five billion. This population explosion has put strains upon our already depleted natural resources. Hunger, pollution, nuclear proliferation, illiteracy and so on also pose as threats to the human right to survival.

Besides, the enormous expansion in wealth since the seventeenth century has greatly extended the expectations of humans. People have become more aware of how one another live, not only as between classes but also between continents. In many instances, they have been led to challenge the fairness of privileges formerly taken for granted. Moreover, the sense that poverty, disease, illiteracy, ignorance and so on need not be the inevitable lot of most of the world's inhabitants, and that they might be remedied by deliberate action, has led to the recognition of claims to certain minimal economic, and social conditions as "human rights."

Human Rights and Education

Education about human rights constitutes a very important means of ensuring human rights. Human rights education creates an understanding about the meaning of these rights as well as an awareness of governments' obligation to respect these rights. Moreover, human rights pertains to education because of its relation to moral education and the development of civic and social responsibility.

The idea of respect for persons that is central in moral education is closely linked to human rights education. In moral education it is important to develop a child's capacity to (1) respect himself/herself, (2) respect others, and (3) promote justice. Socialization research indicates that without self-respect, there will be severe limits on an individual's ability to develop respect for others (Anderson, 1982). Teachers, it is pointed out, can foster respect for others by designing learning experiences which: (1) increase children's ability to empathize, (2) decrease children's egocentric perceptions, (3) decrease children's ethnocentric perceptions, and (4) decrease children's stereotypic perceptions (Anderson, 1982).

Educators have also suggested that human rights education can be effectively introduced as part and parcel of the preparation for citizenship and social responsibility (Butts, 1982). In the United States the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights are studied both in the required U.S. History class (grade 11) and the American government class (grade 12). A complimentary study of some of the basic documents that set forth contemporary statements of international human rights should be undertaken to show their relationship to American ideals (Butts, 1982). There are striking similarities between the statements contained in the American Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For example, the statement: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" bears striking resemblance to Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which says: "All humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and Article 3 which says: "everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person." Articles 8, 9, 10, and 11 bear similarities to the 4th.

5th, 8th, and 14th Amendments.

History offers one of the most useful pedagogical approaches to human rights education. Human rights, as it has evolved over the historical periods, can be studied by examining important historical documents such as the Magna Carta (1215), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and so on (Lister, 1984). The historical approach can also be used to study the inhumanity of certain events, such as African slave trade, genocide of Armenians in the hands of Turks (1915), Jews during the Third Reich, Cambodians in the 1970s and so on. One might also use the historical approach to study some of the famous campaigners of human rights such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and more recently Andrei Sakharov, Nelson Mandela, Paolo Freire, etc. The workings of organizations like Amnesty International also provide opportunity for human rights education at a very practical level.

Conclusion

In concluding I want to point out that human rights is very important, realistic, and practical enough to be included at the various levels of learning, primary, secondary, and higher education. Part of the explanation why human rights has not been given the attention it deserves in education has to do with the difficulties that lie at the theoretical level. The seventeenth and eighteenth century conceptions of human rights (natural rights) still persist. The idea of human rights as evolving and modifiable is much more realistic and broader than the seventeeth and eighteenth century conceptions. Education offers a key to developing such a view of human rights. The quality of human rights education depends to a large extent on the commitment of educators. Moral literacy and civil courage, in a sense, are the cornerstones of human rights education. These are needed to withstand the various problems that humans are faced with in the contemporary world. They are needed to withstand the pressures, the intolerance, and the tensions generated by various threats to human survival.

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Part II
THE HISTORY OF URBAN EDUCATION

Jane Addams' Hull-House: Early Contributions to Adult Education

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> It was the first house I had ever been in where books and magazines just lay around as if there were plenty of them in the world. Don't you remember how much I used to read at the little round table at the back of the library? To have people regard reading as a reasonable occupation changed the whole aspect of life to me and I began to have confidence in what I could do.[1]

Neighborhood

In 1889, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr moved to the near west side of Chicago, a congested, poverty-ridden neighborhood known as the Nineteenth Ward. Halsted Street, where Hull-House stands, was filled with Italians, Germans, Polish and Russian Jews, Bohemians, Greeks and other immigrants. The street was dirty, the lighting and paving were poor and the sanitary conditions were nonexistent. The neighborhood was lined with dilapidated frame houses. The sweat shop was the prevalent form of employment (for children and women) and there were too many saloons, one to every twenty-eight voters.

This is where Jane Addams, with Ellen Gates Starr, decided to found Hull-House, the soon-to-be well-known settlement house which fulfilled the various educational, civic and social needs of the Chicagoland community and neighborhood. Addams was frequently asked why she founded Hull-House on Halsted Street in the Nineteenth Ward. Writing some twenty years later on this subject, Addams recalled,

> In time it came to seem natural to all of us that the settlement should be there. If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young, comfort to the aged, and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse that all men feel.[2]

Philosophy

Jane Addams was a woman who developed and supported a variety of interesting thoughts on an array of subjects, including the settlement movement, education, immigration and democracy. Hull-House typified this style by offering a variety of activities, programs, clubs, lectures and classes for the community; a community that was in need of development and of a settlement house with its various programs. Addams believed that democracy, settlements and education were interrelated, therefore, interdependent. Addams further believed that education exists in many formats, with the greatest learning occurring from life itself. Settlement programs and activities reflected this philosophy, stimulating self-development and promoting social democracy while enhancing and benefiting the community. Addams states:

> The educational activities of a Settlement, as well as its philanthropic, civic and social undertakings, are but different manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the very existence of the Settlement itself.[3]
>
> This then, will be my definition of the settlement: that it is an attempt to express the meaning of life in terms of life itself in forms of activity.[4]
>
> This, I think is what the settlements are trying to do. They are trying to increase the public that shall be the medium for social developments that are of great moment to us all. They are trying to draw into participation in our culture large numbers of persons who would otherwise have to remain outside and who, being outside, would not only remain underdeveloped themselves, but would largely cripple our national life and in the end would cripple our general development.
>
> I am sure that anything we can do to widen the circle of enlightenment and self development is quite as rewarding to those who do it as to those for whom it is done.[5]

Addams' philosophy was put into practice as seen by the implementation of several different activities and programs initiated by Hull-House which promoted self-development and social interaction for the community. These programs included: various clubs (drama, music, art), college extension courses (in an array of subjects), an art gallery, public forums, the Labor Museum, a reading room and branch of the Chicago Public Library, free Sunday afternoon concerts, the Jane Club (a cooperative boarding club and residence for young working women), a coffee shop, a day nursery, a kindergarten, a public dispensary, and a playground. Other activities included investigations into political and social wrongdoings (corruption) in the Nineteenth Ward and Chicago.

Growth and the Toynbee Hall Model

Hull-House became a vital resource to the community and Chicago as it grew from one building in 1889 to thirteen buildings by 1905. Hull-House and all the land which housed the complex was donated by Miss Helen Culver. (Miss Culver was a cousin of Charles Hull who inherited the property upon his death.)

Hull-House was modeled after Toynbee Hall which was the first university settlement and was located in London's East End. Toynbee Hall was named after Arnold Toynbee (who helped inspire the settlement movement) but was founded by Canon Samuel A. Barnett. Barnett and other Oxford graduates lived at Toynbee Hall while offering university extension courses to its residents. The object was to give the poor a better idea of life by living with them and offering classes, clubs and other activities.[6]

Hull-House, based on the Toynbee Hall model, had residents live with the poor to promote community service and neighborhood cooperation. This, in turn, encouraged the poor to help themselves, also helping society (the neighborhood). This philosophy and Jane Addams' different views on education, social democracy and investigation (to eradicate wrongdoings) were incorporated into the Hull-House Charter of 1895. The Charter states:

> To provide a center for higher civic and social life; to initiate and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the condition in the industrial districts of Chicago.[7]

To meet these objectives, Hull-House eventually became staffed with 45 self-supporting residents and had over 200 volunteers to help run the clubs, classes and various programs. By 1909, Hull-House was attracting over 9,000 people to its various educational, civic and social programs.

Hull-House programs and activities were based on democratic and progressive principles and philosophies which were rooted in education. Even the investigations were well-researched and thoroughly studied, allowing Hull-House and its residents to help establish: the Immigrants Protective League, the Juvenile Protection Association, the Illinois Child Labor Committee, the juvenile courts, the Child Labor Law, and various other reform programs which benefited many.

Philosophy on Education

Addams believed that education should develop each person while allowing the person to learn through experience and life which, in turn, would benefit the community. Although Addams never referred to her educational views and programs as "adult education" activities, they contained the characteristics, philosophy and flavor of the adult education concept.[8] She referred to her educational ideas and programs as socialized education. In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, in the chapter Addams entitled, "Socialized Education," she discussed that learning occurs from many educational opportunities and activities (including life) which promoted social relationships, interaction and community, all necessary criteria for a democracy. These adult education programs stimulated learning, growth and development which benefited the individual, the community and society.

Addams also believed in an unrestricted view of education. She believed in lifelong learning: learning or acquiring knowledge and/or wisdom from life and its various experiences throughout one's lifetime.

This belief and her other educational views were incorporated into the various courses and educational activities that were sponsored by Hull-House. The programs included: The Working People's Social Science Club, the Labor Museum, the Music School, the drama and choral clubs and classes, the Shakespeare Club, the Plato Club, various courses for immigrants (including English and Americanization courses and skills), as well as various courses in cooking, dressmaking, the arts and other subjects. Addams also believed in the formal education process, but only as one aspect of the learning process. In *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Addams writes:

> We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing, suspecting them to rest upon the assumption that the ordinary experience of life is worth little, and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the children through the medium of books. Such an assumption fails to give the child any clew to the life about him, or any power to usefully or intelligently connect himself with it.[9]

She felt that the educational activities of a settlement must be varied and diverse along with its other undertakings (i.e., investigations) to help people understand society in order to promote democracy. Addams believed that learning frees the individual, thus enabling them to be productive members of the community and society. This philosophy was also applied to the industrial world and the workplace. She felt that industrial workers needed to understand the history of industrialized society and of their work situation for them to have a sense of purpose and utility in this position. This would allow workers to be stimulated in their jobs, understanding their positions and their relevance to the company and society. Addams states:

> If a working man is to have a conception of his value at all, he must see industry in its unity and entirety; he must have a conception that will include not only himself and his immediate family and community, but the industrial organization as a whole. . . .
>
> Feeding a machine with a material of which he has no knowledge, producing a product totally unrelated to the rest of his life, without in the least knowing what becomes of it, or its connection with the community, is, of course, unquestionably deadening to his intellectual and moral life. To make the moral connection, it would be necessary to give him a social consciousness of the value of his work, and at least a sense of participation and a certain joy in its ultimate use; to make the intellectual connection it would be essential to create in him some historic conception of the development of industry and the relation of his individual work to it.[10]

Adult Education Programs

Every situation and experience (including the workplace) provides a potential learning opportunity for the individual, promoting self-development and growth which benefits the community. Education was the primary mechanism for bringing about this development, growth and reform to better the lives people faced in the Nineteenth Ward and Chicago. Therefore, Hull-House implemented several adult education courses, programs and activities. Many of the courses and programs were in the hands of volunteers who had experience in devising the most practical and expedient method of disseminating their knowledge and expertise on the subject. They made the lessons interesting and appealing to the broad range of students, from children to grandparents, who attended Hull-House.

Since Hull-House was located in a neighborhood which had a large number of immigrants, teaching English and Americanization (i.e., American government) courses and skills were essential educational programs of Hull-House. The idea was to help immigrants assimilate to American ways and democracy while helping them become American citizens. Each class attracted a large number of immigrants which enabled Hull-House to collect a large amount of special textbooks, pictures and learning material to aid in the immigrants' learning process. Also, many lectures were offered at Hull-House which would be of particular interest to specific immigrant groups. For example, "Russia in Revolution" attracted a large number of Russian immigrants while the "Olympian Games" attracted many Greeks. These programs and courses provided immigrants with new knowledge, social interaction and a sense of community.

The Hull-House Music School (founded in 1893) helped create a sense of history, culture and community for many different immigrant groups. The Music School originally was designed to give thorough musical instruction to a few who were interested in music and learning to play an instrument. However, some of the courses and the chorus practices provided an opportunity for different immigrant children to sing, thereby reviving folksongs that had only been transmitted from one generation to the next. Hull-House would be able to record (in writing) these folksongs, ensuring that these different songs and their cultures would be preserved and transmitted to others. (This philosophy was also reflected in the concept of the Labor Museum.) The Music School would sponsor different concerts where the children would sing the revived folksongs. This would bring enjoyment and excitement to the adult audiences. Many in the audience would begin to recollect when they first learned the song and then smile, knowing that their culture continues to survive and be transmitted. All of these educational activities provided immigrants with the opportunity to learn to interact socially in a cooperative setting while enriching and developing their lives; in return benefiting themselves, their family, the community and society.

Like Toynbee Hall, Hull-House offered a variety of College Extension courses which were established at Hull-House before the university extension movement had begun in Chicago. Therefore, Hull-House was the first institution in Chicago to offer extension courses. The courses were flexible in structure while being taught by prominent residents/

teachers who had graduated from a variety of universities (Michigan, Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Smith). Each teacher possessed the necessary skills to share his/her knowledge and expertise with others while meeting the class weekly, usually during the evening. The classes were usually taught by the lecture and/or the text-book method as a syllabus was distributed to each student. Around 1890, the student paid fifty cents for each course, while the course usually lasted for twelve weeks. Courses were offered in a variety of subjects, such as languages, mathematics, drawing, painting, history of the arts, history, biology, electricity, constitutional law and other subject areas. Addams wrote,

> As these classes antedated in Chicago, the University Extension and Normal Extension classes and supplied demand for stimulating instruction, the attendance strained to their utmost capacity the spacious rooms in the old house.[11]

Not only was learning at the utmost, a relationship was established between the students and faculty which made each course exciting and interesting. In addition to these classes, Hull-House sponsored a summer school program at Rockford College. The College was donated by the Rockford Board of Trustees for Hull-House use during the summer months. Each student paid $3.00 per week which covered the student's room, board and school costs. This program allowed 100 women to gather for six weeks to study, learn, grow and experience each other's company. As described by Addams,

> The outdoor classes in bird study and botany, the serious reading of literary masterpieces, the boat excursions on the Rock River, the cooperative spirit of doing the housework together, the satirical commencements in particolored caps and gowns, lent themselves toward a reproduction of the comradeship which college life fosters.[12]

The Rockford College Summer Program, as well as the university extension courses, provided for social interaction and an exchange of knowledge and information, while providing each student with personal enrichment and growth. These programs successfully fulfilled and reflected the educational philosophy of Jane Addams and Hull-House.

Every Thursday, a public lecture was presented at Hull-House. Originally, the lectures were done independently, eventually becoming associated with the University of Chicago, which provided for the weekly lecturer. The lectures were usually well-attended but varied according to the interest of the topic. A lecture that received a great response was George Vincent's (1906) lecture on "The New Social Philosophy." The lectures were well-received, creating the need for more lectures to be presented at Hull-House on different evenings. These lectures would be organized and sponsored by various Hull-House clubs and were designed to provide for the dissemination of new knowledge and/or a different perspective(s). Each lecture provoked thought and allowed for questions and answers and much discussion. The lectures brought a variety of diverse people together (social interaction and community), thereby generating differing viewpoints and aiding in the participants' learning, growth and development.

One of the groups which sponsored different adult education activities was the Working People's Social Science Club.[13] The club was organized in the Spring of 1890 and its objective was to have a different subject presented to the group — once a week, every week. The club met every Wednesday at 8:00 p.m. to hear a different speaker and then participate in an open but lively debate. The club allowed for its members to learn, respect and understand different opinions, thereby teaching them to be tolerant and patient while giving others the right to express their viewpoints. This promoted community, social interaction, democracy and other essential values to the participants. Addams wrote that the "enthusiasm of this club seldom lagged."[14]

Many people within the Chicagoland community perceived Hull-House to be radical, socialist and/or anarchistic because of the Working People's Social Science Club. Addams firmly believed that offering different viewpoints and discussion was necessary and vital for learning, growth and development to occur. She felt that a settlement house seeks expression through social, civic and educational activity. The community must learn the difference between social unrest and inquiry into new knowledge and differing perspectives and viewpoints.

The Labor Museum seemed to adhere to this thinking, as it broadened the community's awareness about different ethnic groups. Addams noted,

> It seemed to me that Hull-House ought to be able to devise some educational enterprise which should build a bridge between European and American experiences in such ways as to give them both meaning and a sense of relation. . . .[15]

This education enterprise became known as the Labor Museum which would also preserve some of the immigrants' past while bridging the gap between other generations. This was accomplished by having the older generation demonstrate/teach the younger generation to develop an appreciation and understanding of their parents' past and culture while encouraging interaction between generations. In turn, the younger generation would aid the older generation in learning English and Americanization skills.

Addams also believed that the Labor Museum fit into her educational philosophy regarding industrial society and the workplace. She felt that the Museum would demonstrate history and culture to others, especially young people. They would understand the development of each job and the use of the equipment necessary to complete the tasks. This would also demonstrate the evolution of the machinery from simple tools to more complex pieces of equipment. This would allow them to see and understand these developments in the workplace and its effect on society. John Dewey noted (about the Labor Museum):

> If I understand aright, one of the chief motives in the development of the new labor museum at Hull-House has been to show the younger generation something of the skill and art and historic meaning in the industrial habits of the older generations — modes of spinning, weaving, metal working, etc., discarded in this country because there was no place for them in our industrial system.[16]

Originally, the Museum was housed in one room where Syrian, Greek, Italian and Russian women would spin as their ancestors had done in their countries. The Labor Museum became quite successful, expanding its facilities and housing new programs and courses (i.e., Electrical Club). The Labor Museum bridged the gap between immigrants' past life in Europe with American experiences, as well as between different generations, aiding in the growth and development of each group. The Labor Museum created a positive social interaction between these groups while providing for an exchange of knowledge, information and culture. The Museum bridged various differences while raising the awareness of and interaction between different ethnic groups and generations. This educational enterprise successfully fulfilled Addams' goals and expectations while adhering to her philosophy on adult education.

The Hull-House Electrical Club was a new program which was developed and housed in the Labor Museum. The Electrical Club met every night except Sunday. The membership consisted of men who had jobs in electrical occupations. The educational program they followed consisted of laboratory practices, lectures on electricity, machine shop practices, mechanical drawings, and machine testings. These activities combined theory with practical hands-on experience. This enabled the men to learn and practice new concepts while enhancing their skills and knowledge.

The clubs at Hull-House sponsored educational, civic and social activities. While some offered all three, others offered only one activity. The philosophy was to provide for self-improvement, self-development and social interaction between its members and the community while benefiting society.

The Hull-House Woman's Club fulfilled all three activities when it was organized in February, 1891 with twelve members. By 1907, it had 450 members. The club was housed in its own building that provided a library and sewing room for Hull-House. By 1906, the club library had over 1900 volumes and a magazine department which had current weekly and monthly subscriptions. The library was organized and managed by a special committee of the Woman's Club. The club sponsored a full program of lectures on current issues facilitated by well-known speakers, discussion groups, music recitals, and concert performances by their own chorus. The club also contributed financially to other charitable and social organizations as well as having several members volunteer for different organizations and investigations.

different organizations and investigations.

The Men's Club was open to men who were twenty-one years of age and older. Any man under age twenty-one participated in the boy's club. The Men's Club had its own facilities that were furnished with billiard tables, a meeting room, a reading room and a small library. The objective of the club was to provide recreational, social and educational activities to its members. The club sponsored several lectures and debates. Some topics included: Socialism, trade unions, trusts, the Negro question, civil service and many others. The club also sponsored plays which included productions that were written by some of its members. They also held several dances and had their own baseball team that played different organizations and park district baseball teams.

The Men's and Woman's Club were very successful, growing in membership while contributing to Hull-House's success, development and growth. Yet, Hull-House had other clubs which offered a variety of activities and contributions to the daily agenda of programs sponsored at the settlement house.

Drama productions were sponsored by several different clubs while Hull-House sponsored its own drama club known as the Hull-House Players. Addams believed that drama was an agent for Americanization skills, therefore an effective means of teaching English, history and literature to its members. The drama club offered courses on theater and production management while uniting young and old. The drama club became a powerful agent for recreation, education and an important vehicle for self-expression.

The Shakespeare Club developed from the interest of the Shakespeare class which was taught by Ellen Gates Starr. The club's format consisted of informal readings and discussions of various plays (mostly Shakespeare's). As time passed, the club was able to secure more lectures from prominent English faculty members at the University of Chicago and from special guest actors/actresses who were appearing in town.

Both of these drama groups provided for social interaction between the young and old and the different ethnic groups. These drama clubs, courses and productions provided the participants with valuable learning experiences while they took part in cultural activities that were fun and interesting to them. Ellen Gates Starr always believed that the arts should be recognized at Hull-House. Therefore, an art gallery was immediately established (1889) at Hull-House to bring meaning and purpose in the arts to the neighborhood. Also, studios were built and art classes were implemented under a resident's supervision. Classes were offered in drawing, modeling, painting and lithography, attracting a variety of students. Addams wrote, "They find their classes filled not only by young people possessing facility and sometimes talent, but also by older people to whom the studio affords the one opportunity to escape from dreariness. . . ."[17]

dreariness. . . ."[17]

Arts and crafts and technical courses were also offered. They increased in number and eventually became identified with the Labor Museum. The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society organized, met and taught several of these courses at the Labor Museum. These courses included pottery, metal work, printing, wood carving, painting and others. The studying of the arts allowed the community to become aware of the history and importance of the arts as well as learning to appreciate the aesthetic beauty it provided society.

Conclusion

The arts, like all other courses and activities, were offered at Hull-House to provide the community with a well-rounded opportunity to experience a variety of programs to aid in their development and growth. In turn, this would be beneficial to the individual, his/her family, Hull-House, the Nineteenth Ward neighborhood, and society. Hull-House provided the community with civic, social and educational activities which met the various needs of the diverse populations of Chicago. Each activity was developed to reform and improve society. The investigations were to reform wrongdoings in the city while social and recreational activities were offered to provide social interaction and enjoyment to many. Yet, the adult education activities of Hull-House were the primary focus of the settlement house. No matter if it was the Labor Museum, the Social Science Club, the Music School, the drama club, the art classes, technical courses, Americanization classes, extension courses, lectures, or other educational offerings, education dominated the many activities that were sponsored at Hull-House. Addams and the residents of Hull-House believed that adult education programs were essential in providing the exchange of knowledge and information, provoking different thoughts and opinions, promoting social interaction, and aiding the growth and development of various participants (young and old, as well as from different ethnic groups). All of these benefited society. These adult education programs provided knowledge from life experience, hands-on experience, topical discussions, seminars, forums, various courses in a variety of class formats, and daily interaction amongst the residents and the community.

Although the term "adult education" was not used by Addams or others until approximately 1920, it is evident that her views on education and the Hull-House programs are characteristic and part of the history of the adult education movement. Addams' philosophy and the Hull-House educational activities adhere to the concepts of adult education and lifelong learning. Hull-House provided learning/knowledge through a variety of educational opportunities (offerings) and in a variety of ways and means, including from life itself. These opportunities were made available to young and old (lifelong learning), Black and White, Jewish and non-Jewish, Greek, Italian, and other immigrant groups which reflected life in Chicago and the Nineteenth Ward. These programs provided for social interaction, an important aspect of democracy. Addams believed this interaction was a way of life and essential to society because it allowed for a variety of people to come together to learn, work and live with each other. It also allowed people to learn to tolerate different viewpoints while learning life from another perspective. The programs enabled people to learn in many ways (characteristic of adult education), as the goal was always to aid in each person's development, growth and interaction between themselves and the rest of society.

Hull-House still continues to successfully accomplish its goals and fulfill its charter as established by Addams and others. Addams and Hull-House are important developments in the adult education movement. Addams helped to initiate the philosophy and concepts of adult education which were successfully implemented as reflected by Hull-House programs, courses and activities.

Notes

[1] Jane Addams recollecting a comment on Hull-House made by a former resident of the community. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1945), 341.

[2] Ibid., 109.

[3] Ibid., 453.

[4] Jane Addams, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, as cited in Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, ed., *Jane Addams on Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1985), 78.

[5] Jane Addams, *Journal of Adult Education*, as cited in Lagemann, 211.

[6] "How Toynbee Hall is Conducted," *Chicago Tribune*, 18 June 1891.

[7] Hull-House Association, "Articles of Incorporation," 30 March 1895.

[8] The term "adult education" was not used until the early twentieth century. However, adult education programs (although not called as such) can be traced back to the eighteenth century with the founding of the Junto (topical discussion group) by Ben Franklin in 1727. It was not until 1926 that the first professional adult education association was founded, the American Association for Adult Education, and the term commonly accepted.

Adult education is a process by which people continue to learn or increase their knowledge and or skills in a variety of activities and settings. The structure is usually more flexible in nature than a formal classroom while the program or activity provides for growth and self-development.

[9] Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard, 1964), 180-181.

[10] Ibid., 213-214.

[11] Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 428.

[12] Ibid., 429.

[13] Social Science was not a formal discipline at this time, but only served as the name to describe this group.

[14] Ibid., 179.

[15] Ibid., 235-236.

[16] John Dewey, "The School As Social Center," as cited in Davis and McCree, ed., *Eighty Years at Hull-House* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 97.

[17] Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 373-374.

Educational Policy & Conflict in the Chicago Schools: The McAndrew Years, 1924-27

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Introduction

The course of events in the history of the Chicago public schools has been anything but calm, and the years 1924-1927 under Superintendent William A. McAndrew were no exception. In his important work *School and Society in Chicago* George S. Counts had this to say about these years: "He who surveys the Chicago situation can only wonder whether man has not created a social mechanism so complex and intricate as to defy his understanding."[1] Instead he suggests that the mechanism involved in this complex network led ultimately to questions of who controls and who shapes and interprets educational policy. He goes on to state that control and policy setting are carefully laid out in legal statutes, but that these manifest "little complexity."[2] Without stressing one more than another he continues then to analyze the various educational and social forces existing and bringing pressure to bear upon the educational system during the McAndrew era: (1) the superintendent, (2) the school board, (3) the teachers, (4) the business community, (5) organized labor, (6) the churches, (7) city hall, and (8) the daily press. He concludes his very thoughtful analysis and investigation by signaling the need for the profession to develop "educational statesmanship of the highest order," so that it can "free itself of the incubus of selfish interests."[3] Counts' social analysis of the educational climate in which he lived continues to bear merit today. However, I would like to take a different position: one that has been influenced by the sixty intervening years that has produced a strong teacher union force in the Chicago schools. With this added vantage I would like to suggest that the McAndrew era might have turned out differently had the superintendent followed a different policy in which he was a little more attentive to the teachers and a little less attentive to the business community as represented by the Association of Commerce. Despite Counts' claim of statute simplicity, I would also like to suggest that McAndrew was dealing with a teaching force sufficiently sophisticated with statutory rules and procedures as to be very suspicious of the superintendent's arbitrary changes in policies. The above suggestion in policy change can be understood only after: (1) a description of McAndrew's attitudes and policies in general and towards the teachers; and (2) an explanation as to why this were so offensive to the teachers. What follows is a discussion of these two points.

The McAndrew Era, 1924-27

William McAndrew assumed his duties as superintendent of the second largest city in the country on 1 February 1924, after having been associate superintendent of the New York schools for the previous ten years. He was no stranger to Chicago having served as Latin teacher then principal at Hyde Park High School from 1887-1891. He had also become friendly with Margaret Haley, who by 1900 was taking up the leadership reins of the Chicago Teachers Federation.[4]

He came in February 1924 with the support of the majority of teachers including Margaret Haley and the Chicago Teachers Federation, but it did not take him long to raise their suspicions. He announced his administrative plans quickly, and they allowed for no input from the teachers. There would be a line-staff delegation of authority, close teacher supervision, better pupil achievement, a sign in system to get teachers to school on time, an elimination of dead wood from the teaching staff, a good 3 year (7-9) junior high school system, and more efficient use of elementary schools through the platoon system which allowed for double shifts.[5]

By June 1924 parts of all of these plans had begun smoldering. One year later the fire was being fanned by the strong conviction that Superintendent McAndrew had been brought here through the vested interests of big business (who were well represented on the board) to squelch the teachers, save taxes, cut expenses and insure stable social class divisions through the long arm of city hall.[6]

His first offense against the teaching force came on 22 March, only seven weeks after taking office. On that day he met with the Elementary (teachers) General Council to hear their report on his junior high policies. They reported that of the thirty-nine teaching groups that they represented five were for them; six were opposed and twenty-eight had the following questions: (1) What were the essential features of a junior high school system? (2) Will the junior high make a cleavage along class lines, becoming a substitute for senior high? (3) Can a junior high be incorporated in an elementary school? (4) Does it hold children back in school and does it increase senior high failures? (5) What teachers will be eligible for appointment to junior high?[7]

McAndrew responded by saying that he did not have answers to these questions at that time. As it turned out these answers were never given; yet by mid May, upon recommendation of the superintendent, the board had voted to install junior high schools throughout the system as quickly as possible. This was also inspite of the fact that in June the Chicago Federation of Labor had concluded their junior high investigation and recommended that the junior high be implemented on an experimental basis so that there could be more public discussion and analysis. In studying the junior highs of other cities, they had concluded that there was some evidence to suggest that it produced class divisiveness. This was especially true when it was used with intelligence tests that discriminated against lower working class children. The superintendent and the board ignored the report making no response to these concerns and activities. This only increased the teachers' suspicions that the board was intending to misuse the junior high school to ensure class divisions.[8]

Elementary teachers were doubly concerned that summer when they were told that they had to take a special examination in order to be eligible for a junior high position. They all held K-8 teaching certificates and if this was not valid for seventh and eighth grades they feared that their tenure could be questioned for any grade simply on the action of the superintendent. Another concern was the platoon system adopted in Gary, Indiana. This was the target of much national opposition especially by the labor force. In Chicago the elementary teachers generally felt that it sacrificed quality for efficiency and reduced overhead costs. In fact no teacher organization supported it. On 7 July the Elementary General Council registered its opposition to the board's Committee on School Administration and two days later the board adopted the platoon system.[9]

That summer it also became clear that McAndrew intended to abolish the teacher council structure. Going back to the Superintendency of Ella Flagg Young (1909-13) the board regulations directed the superintendent to call these local elementary and high school councils for specified times a semester during school hours. For example, the wording stated that in compliance with board statutes "The superintendent shall arrange for the elementary council meetings two afternoons each semester" during a specified time period. On 18 June McAndrew amended this by changing one word to read as follows: "The superintendent may arrange for council meetings. . . ." By fall McAndrew had made and approved the following amendment: that no dismissal of pupils during regular school hours would be made for the purpose of council meetings.[10] The board attorney said he was not authorized to amend teacher council rules and regulations without board and council approval, so McAndrew sought another counsel. The latter attorney told him that he alone had the right to amend these rules. This was due to the nature of the councils who were only advisory to the superintendent. In September McAndrew directed the high school principals not to dismiss classes for the councils because he had amended the rules. Since many high schools had twelve period days, the councils had no time to meet. In fact the teachers councils were abolished, because McAndrew never sent out another call of any kind.[11]

This coupled with his tight supervision and continuous criticism of teachers led to his gradual demise. He hired special clerks to verify the signatures of teachers as they signed in and out daily, and he introduced a merit system based on secret markings of teachers. By the end of 1926 teachers were turning to the mayoralty campaign, searching for a candidate who would rid Chicago of its current superintendent. They found such a candidate in William Hale Thompson who swept the election over incumbent William Dever — the mayor who had brought McAndrew to the city. Thompson eventually accused McAndrew of being impetrated in his allowance of the use of history texts that highlighted King George III and omitted many revolutionary American heroes of various essentialities such as Cashmere Passkey, and Heathen Alien. Hence, Thompson's infamous declaration was born that McAndrew was the "stool pigeon for the King of England." This charge meant very little to the teachers compared to McAndrew's own admission in 1927 that he had been brought to the city "to loose the hold that certain outside agencies and the city hall had on the school system." He later explained that "Chicago had a reputation of having a poor school system due to a grip of outside and inside influences [invisible empire] on the board." By outside influences it was assumed that he was referring to Margaret Haley and the Chicago Teachers' Federation which boasted six thousand teachers out of a teaching force somewhat more than twelve thousand in the city.[12]

Such admissions left little doubt among the teachers that he had been brought to Chicago by the business community as represented in the Association of Commerce and the Union League Club. It only served to reinforce the notion that their early suspicions in his first few months as superintendent were well founded. Also, with this business endorsement, labor was convinced that the junior high, intelligence testing, and platoon plans were the work of the corporate world to keep the children of labor in their places academically and socially.[13]

In April 1927 Thompson took office and by August McAndrew added the school board to his list of enemies by objecting to a legal decision on the hiring of teacher clerks. It had been the custom to hire extra teachers who had clerical and administrative duties rather than teaching. In August the law was upheld that the only non teaching board employees exempt from city civil service were the superintendent, the business manager and the board attorneys. Therefore, clerks must be employed through the civil service system. The board shifted the clerks back to the teaching force, and directed McAndrew to hire civil service employees in their places. The superintendent not only refused, but helped the clerks in securing an injunction against the board's action. On 29 August Superintendent McAndrew was suspended pending trial for insubordination and lack of patriotism.

The trial was set for the end of September and slowly droned on until March of 1928 when the board finally voted to dismiss him two months after his term had expired. Several years later a circuit court judge ruled that there was no basis for these charges which meant that he was still a board employee. However, McAndrew cared little for anything but the clearing of his name and reputation. It was common knowledge that the trial had been a farce, but few cared since it was the vehicle for ridding the schools of McAndrew.[14]

McAndrew's Pitfalls

Perhaps his nature was such that it would have been impossible for him to exercise his duties and implement policy any other way. He has been characterized as a man having "an uncompromising attitude" and one who "walks his own road." However, the road seemed to be wide enough for the Association of Commerce to journey with him, but not for the teaching force to accompany him. And this is a major factor in his failure to successfully chart the course for the schools.[15]

When McAndrew had first been in Chicago the teachers had been a docile group. However, through the efforts of the Chicago Teachers Federation and later through the Federation of Men Teachers and the Women's Federation of High School Teachers, they had become a powerful voice in controlling the schools. In 1906 the CTF had brought some of the tax-dodging business structure under the law thereby creating enough revenue to pay teacher salary cuts incurred in 1900. In 1909 the federation was thought to be so powerful that the board hired Ella Flagg Young because it was felt that they would listen to her. Perhaps he did not realize that times had changed in his thirty year absence.

In 1913 Young introduced for the first time teachers councils. The subject of her dissertation under the direction of John Dewey, these councils provided a democratic vehicle for teachers to express their opinions and help shape the policies that affected their daily work life. What is more interesting is that these councils were advocated by the leading educators of the day including one William McAndrew who had said previously in New York that

> The management of any school system . . . would be much more intelligent if the intelligence of the whole body were used than if the school system were managed by the most intelligent person in this audience. For it stands to reason that the intelligence of the whole teaching force must be immensely superior to that of any one person who is running it.[16]

Apparently, he never came to terms with the practical meaning of his own words. At any rate, after numerous clashes with the policies of the board whose ranks were well represented by the business community, teachers found a secure voice in these local council meetings and in their general council representation. They also continued their union activities and fought successfully for the passage of the Otis law which gave them tenure. Finally under Superintendent Mortenson in 1922 the councils became even more institutionalized with regularly scheduled meetings called during school hours.

This brief sketch of the teachers organizations serves as a reminder of the growing role they were playing as a viable force in shaping policy. What is important to remember is that their power had grown at the expense of the corporate and business structure that continued to control schools through board representation. Given this background it is difficult to see how a superintendent could successfully set policies and chart a four year course that so totally ignored the well trodden path of the teachers. Had he convened councils that were advisory to him and then used these sessions as means to explain his policies and answer those questions regarding the purposes junior highs, he might have secured their support instead of incurring their resistance. Even the *Tribune*, an anti-teacher voice, who supported the junior high and platoon systems, spoke out against his suspension of the councils. In an editorial they questioned whether or not the victory was worth the fight.

> Will it not, if carried through, chiefly win the antagonism of thousands of teachers? Certainly it will jeopardize his greater plan with small compensation . . . . the need is to reduce friction, not aggravate it. Above all it is to carry through his great educational projects. Education in Chicago will not gain by antagonizing the bulk of the teaching force.[17]

This editorial captures the essence of McAndrew's difficulties in charting a successful course of educational policies and practices. To think that he could dominate and control a growing teacher organization by ignoring their voices and releasing continuous directives that reduced them to professional servitude was indeed short sighted. And if McAndrew assumed that his policies could be implemented with only the backing of the Association of Commerce, he was certainly misinformed and had only to recall what his friend of earlier years, Margaret Haley, had accomplished through her work with the CTF.

Notes

[1] George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928): 6.

[2] Ibid., 341.

[3] Ibid., 561.

[4] Albert N. Marquis, *Who's Who in Chicago* (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1926); "William McAndrew Ex-School Head in Chicago Dies," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 June 1937, p. 14 Col. 1.

[5] *Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year Ending 1926* (Chicago, 1926): 15-16.

[6] Counts, 247. See also Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Public Schools: A Social and Political History* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971):158; and Robert L. Reid, editor, *Battleground: The Autobiography of Margaret A. Haley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982): 224.

[7] Herrick, 143, 146 citing "Reports of the Elementary teachers councils," 157.

[8] *Proceedings, Board of Education of the City of Chicago* (Chicago 1924): 59; Regular meeting of the Chicago Teachers Federation, Stenographic Report, 19 September, 1924, CTF Files, Chicago Historical Society, 27-30. See also Herrick, 148-52.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Counts, 116-126; Stenographic Report of the CTF meeting, 19 September 1924, 6; Board Proceedings, 59.

[11] 1924 *Board Proceedings*, 221, 260; 942, 963; Stenographic Report of the CTF meeting, 19 September 1924; Herrick, 151-2. For an account of the Young superintendency see Joan K. Smith, *Ella Flagg Young: Portrait of a Leader* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Research Foundation) Educational Studies Press, 1979): 144-53.

[12] Ibid., 154; *1924 Board Proceedings*, 12, 263, 613; Counts, 150, 247 "Stenographic Report of the CTF meeting" 13 September 1924, 50; "Who Employed McAndrew? He Tells, and Why," *Chicago Daley Tribune*, 16 May 1927, p.1, Col. 5.

[13] Counts, 247; Reid, 205.

[14] John Howatt, *Notes on the First One Hundred years of Chicago School History* (Chicago: John Howatt, 1940), 52-55; See also *Chicago Daily Tribune* 29, 30 August 1927; Herrick, 169.

[15] Howatt, 52, 55.

[16] Herrick, 150.

[17] Counts, 305.

Working for Cincinnati's Public Schools, 1830-1900

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My work on Cincinnati teachers is part of a larger study on occupational segregation by sex in the nineteenth century Cincinnati labor market — i.e., the existence of "women's jobs" and "men's jobs." In this study, I argue that in late nineteenth century Cincinnati, there was a substantial decline in the traditional boundaries between "women's work" and "men's work." Traditional occupations with fairly rigid sex distinctions, such as domestic servant (heavily female) and laborer (heavily male), were declining. At the same time, certain male occupations that were opening up to women also grew in their importance to the local economy.

Teaching played a pioneering role in this realignment of the Cincinnati labor market, as it was the first major male occupation in the city to employ women. Further, the teaching profession did not simply become an integrated occupation with representative numbers of men and women; instead, it switched sex labels. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, teaching was seen as women's work, a label that persists today. This same basic pattern was repeated later in the nineteenth century by certain kinds of factory work, and by the clerical and sales occupations. Indeed, by the turn of century, today's basic profile of women's work vs. men's work was in place.

As a case study of occupational segregation by sex, then, the relevant questions in the history of Cincinnati's teachers are, how did women gain entrance to the profession, and what forces caused the profession's sex label to change from male to female?

In Cincinnati, as in other cities, women received their biggest entree into teaching via the founding of free public schools. From the time Cincinnati common schools opened their doors in 1829, nearly 40% of the teachers and principals employed were female. This was striking, considering that teachers in the city's private schools were almost entirely male. Furthermore, within 15 years, the proportion of female teachers in the public schools had risen dramatically, to about 70%. This relative influx of females continued at a slower pace until the proportion stabilized at about 80% after the Civil War. In the meantime, the ranks of public school teachers had grown to dominate the teaching profession as a whole. Thus, the story of Cincinnati's women teachers was highly interconnected with the rise of the public school system.

I have therefore assembled a data base consisting of a complete annual listing of the teachers and principals in each of Cincinnati's public schools, from 1830 to 1900 (including the separate black school system that existed beginning in the 1850's). The listing includes the individuals' names as well as information on salary, position held, type of school, grade taught, and number of pupils taught. In this paper, I will briefly outline some of the preliminary insights gleaned from this data base. In light of my time limitation today, I will primarily confine my remarks to the first 20 years of Cincinnati's public schools, 1830 to 1850.

The First Decade of Cincinnati's Common Schools

In Cincinnati, the founding of the common schools was due to the determined efforts of Christian, educational reformers and Whig politicians, who saw public education as part of a package of "internal improvements" that also encompassed projects such as road and canal building.[1] From 1800 to 1840, Cincinnati experienced explosive growth, offering many ordinary settlers economic opportunities unheard of in their hometowns back east. Labor shortages led to high wages and greater chances for advancement.[2] The architects of Cincinnati's common schools hoped that a common, basic education for all white youth would uplift the newly enfranchised "common man," making him a worthy, law-abiding citizen of the republic. In addition, they hoped to provide literate and industrious workers for the growing commercial sector of the Cincinnati economy.[3]

In the late 1820's, the Cincinnati city council divided the city into school districts and created a tax structure to finance the new system. The council also set up two managerial boards. The Board of Trustees and Visitors was popularly elected, with one member selected from each of the city's wards,[4] and was in charge of managing the overall operation of the common schools, including setting educational policy, building schoolhouses and hiring employees. The Board of Examiners and Inspectors consisted of six members appointed by the trustees,[5] and was entrusted with examining and certifying the "qualifications, competency, and moral character" of potential teachers and principals.[6] Thus, while the examiners determined the pool of applicants, the trustees controlled actual hiring and salaries.

The examiners were drawn primarily from the professions, especially clergymen and professors, while the board of trustees also included merchants and manufacturers. Both boards were clearly drawn from the elite of the city. In the 1830's, board members often solicited advice on school policies from the exclusive Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, in which educational reformers like Lyman and Catherine Beecher, Calvin Stowe, Samuel Lewis, and William McGuffey were active. There were no women on either school board in the nineteenth century, and although women teachers could attend sessions of the College of Professional Teachers, they were not permitted to address the meetings.[7]

From the first year of the city's new school system, substantial numbers of women were hired. Of the twenty-two principal and assistant teachers who were employed more or less continuously by the trustees in the 1829-1830 school year, eight were female. Thus, at a time when the Cincinnati labor force as a whole was probably about 15% female, 36% of public school teachers were women. By 1840, forty-two out of sixty-three, or 67% of the city's common school teachers were female.

Why were so many women hired to staff Cincinnati's new schools?[8] On the labor demand side, school managers sought the rapid growth of the common schools in the face of a limited budget and the initial ambivalence of taxpayers; one money-saving strategy was to employ females, whose services were substantially cheaper in all areas of the labor market. The common schools did offer a chance for innovation in hiring decisions, since public schools were fundamentally a new entity. And the early connotation of common schools as schools for the youngest children of the poor cannot be overlooked — women teachers could thus be seen as nurturing and charitable, characteristics that were seen as traditionally feminine.

On the labor supply side, women were willing and able to take positions in the schools at relatively low salaries. While women were less likely to be needed in home production due to the increasingly market-oriented nature of the city's economy, they were more likely to be educated due to the expansion of female educational opportunities in the early nineteenth century. The first female teachers in Cincinnati's common schools may have received their educations in female institutions in the east, but it is more likely that they attended the female academies present in Cincinnati since at least 1823, or the city's Lancaster Seminary, which educated both sexes using the monitorial method as early as 1817. As of 1830, women who received an education did not have any clear career paths other than marriage open to them, since the business and professional pursuits followed by educated men were virtually closed to them. Other than a sprinkling of teaching jobs in private academies, their occupational options were limited to milliner, seamstress, laundress, or domestic servant.[9] Finally, there was a relative lack of qualified, low-wage males due to the contrasting abundance of economic opportunities for educated men in the rapidly growing local economy.

There was precedent for women teaching young boys and girls, as mothers had often taught their children basic reading and writing at home, and Cincinnati women had occasionally conducted Dame Schools for young children.[10] Still, bringing women teachers into the public school system was hardly a foregone conclusion. The arguments of women like Catharine Beecher, who advocated teaching as an ideal career for future mothers, certainly played a role in accepting the idea of women teachers.[11]

The first decade of Cincinnati's common schools was, in some ways, a golden age for its female employees. Although women teachers and principals made only about one half the salary of their male counterparts, this would turn out to be the peak of the ratio of female to male salaries for the entire nineteenth century. Furthermore, the average class sizes of male and female teachers were relatively equal and at a tolerable level, generally in the high thirties and low forties; later in the century, women would teach classes of 50 to 100 pupils, that were on the average much larger than those taught by male teachers. Finally, although women were totally unrepresented on the board of trustees and the board of examiners, about a third of the principals over the course of the 1830's were female.

Strober and Tyack have noted that one of the reasons urban schools hired a larger proportion of women techers than rural schools was that the city school boards hired male superintendents and principals.[12] In other words, teaching could be entrusted to women so long as there were men to direct them. This was certainly a model that applied to the Cincinnati school system beginning in the 1850's. However, in the Cincinnati schools' first decade, there was no superintendent of schools, and as we have noted, a healthy proportion of the principals were female. Indeed, for the first five years of the system, most women teachers were principal teachers.

Of course, it is important to keep the changing content of the term "principal" in mind. At first, the distinction was the "principal teacher" who had primary responsibility for a class vs. the "assistant teacher" who was hired to help with a large class. A transition period quickly followed, in which assistants were given their own rooms, and principals appeared to exercise a growing degree of supervisory and administrative responsibility. Who, if anyone, had overall control of a school is unclear, particularly when there were several principals in one schoolhouse. It is possible that male principals took an unofficial position of authority over female principals; however, it is possible to identify several schoolhouses with female but no male principals.[13]

While local trustees were influential in their districts until the late nineteenth century, especially on matters of hiring, salaries and promotions, they were busy men who made brief and intermittent visits to the schoolhouse. When compared with later years, women had [illegible] substantial degree of responsibility and control in the public school system of the 1830's, at least at the level of the classroom, since there were no officially designated supervisors present on a daily basis. Even responsibilities that ostensibly belonged to the collective board of trustees, such as choosing textbooks and establishing rules for classroom discipline, were sometimes delegated to the faculty association, which included teachers of both sexes.[14]

There is evidence that the social class of at least some of the earliest teachers was higher than that of later teachers. Male and female members of families prominent in education and business were present, as well as the Reverend and Mrs. McKee, who taught in the early 1830's but resigned in 1835, complaining that the Reverend's salary was "inadequate to his laboring services of his knowledged merits."[15] Every school board report in the 1830's mentions common school teachers "of both sexes" leaving for presumably higher-paying positions in private schools. This indicates that these teachers had the requisite skills and social background to teach the more extensive curriculum of the typical private school. Although the trustees always noted that "there has been no deficiency in the number of competent applicants for the vacancies thus created," the board did wish to decrease the amount of turnover. Salaries increased in 1835 and 1838 were tied to the desire to hold onto valued teachers.[16]

A second strategy for reducing turnover proved more effective, while allowing salaries to remain low — namely, using the common schools themselves as a recruiting ground for teachers who would have even less options than their privately educated counterparts. School board reports reveal that this strategy was commenced almost immediately. The 1839 report noted that "a respectable number of the pupils, educated in [the Common Schools], have passed highly creditable examinations before the Board of Examiners and Inspectors; and several of them are now among the best teachers in the juvenile departments of these schools."[17]

By 1839, over 4,000 pupils enrolled in Cincinnati's common schools, 2,500 of whom showed up on a daily basis. From 1830 to 1839, the number of principals increased from 17 to 22, while the number of assistants increased from 5 to 43. The additional volume of students was accommodated by a higher ratio of assistants to principals, and most of the net new hiring was in the form of female assistants, who worked under both male and female principals. Significantly, the only staffing policy that absolutely never varied was that male assistants did not work for female principals, ever. This rule held for the entire nineteenth century.

Although males were more likely to teach boys and females to teach girls, there were many instances where this was not the case. In 1838, for example, at least 13 out of a total of 53 teachers and principals were "exceptions." The exceptions were not just female assistants teaching young boys, which later became the norm, but also included male principals teaching only girls, as well as both men and women who taught mixed classes.

In the area of salaries, females, regardless of position, never made more than the lowest paid male during the 1830's. For most of the decade, there were four categories, each paid a fixed salary: male principal, male assistant, female principal, and female assistant. In their 1838 report, the trustees announced a new set of policies. The schools were to be graded, with a new emphasis on placing boys and girls in separate rooms.[18] The employees were also to be graded, into principals, and first, second and third assistants, in descending order of salary level and grade taught. In general, salaries were increased up to 20%, which was quite significant, considering the economic dislocation that prevailed following the Panic of 1837.[19] However, the third assistant's salary was 10% lower than before. For the rest of the century, the use of an entry level position with subnormal pay would be a frequent economizing strategy in times of financial distress. The trustees also announced that there would now be "but one controlling principal . . . in each house" whose duties would be "the grading of the schools, the classification of the pupils, and the arrangement of those under their respective teachers." For the first time, the board made their rationale for hiring primarily female assistants explicit. They stated that while many of the principals were males, females "are generally considered equal, if not superior in governing the young mind . . . It is probable, therefore, that the proportion of females will be enlarged. . . . since their services are much less expensive than those of males."[20]

When the employment and average salaries of male and female principals and teachers are considered over the decade of the 1830's, several generalizations emerge. The relative wages of males and females were fairly steady, in both the principal and assistant categories. Salaries for all positions rose moderately in absolute terms, as well as in terms of real purchasing power. Finally, females predominated in the growing ranks of assistant teachers, while the number of female principals stayed even. Men were not directly displaced from their jobs; indeed, the men who stayed in the system were promoted at faster rates than women. However, males represented a shrinking portion of new hires. In one decade, the city's schools had reversed prevailing sex labels in the public school teaching profession.

The Second Decade of Cincinnati's Common Schools

The second decade of Cincinnati's public school system began with a major policy shift. In June of 1840, the trustees reported that the school budget was in a deficit position, due to stagnant revenues and rising enrollments.[21] They took drastic action:

> A savings may be made . . . without diminishing salaries, by employing only one male Principal, and one female Principal in each house, and by placing competent female teachers over all the female departments, and . . . the primary male departments. Indeed, we . . . should have carried [this] into effect before this time, had it not been for our unwillingness to part with some of our old Teachers . . . With two experienced principals in each house, . . . aided by well-chosen assistants, many of whom may be selected . . . from the former scholars of these very schools, we believe they may go on as efficiently as ever, and with much less expense.[22]

The segregation of pupils into male and female departments under principals of the same sex reinforced the notion of separate spheres for men and women,[23] while helping to rationalize the cost-saving elimination of surplus male principals. Since there had never been more than one female principal per house, the burden of the new policy fell on men. 6

out of a total of 15 male principalships were eliminated in 1840. To compensate, the position of men who remained in the system was sweetened; male first assistants were given special raises, and a few men were placed temporarily in new associate principal positions.

As the financial squeeze continued, the reorganization failed to prevent sizeable reductions in assistant teachers' salaries the following year. At this time, female principals' pay was frozen, but male principals got an 8% raise. The result was that the real salaries of women generally fell in the early 1840's, while those of men rose. In fact, a dramatic decline in the ratio of female to male pay continued for the remainder of the decade, in spite of the end of the depression and an increase in school taxes.[24] In the late 1840's, while the trustees began tying the highest salaries to length of experience and type of certification, they also limited female mobility by requiring that one third of the assistants in each house be at the lowest salary. Thus, while male principals and the few remaining male teachers received increasingly higher salaries, hiring female graduates of the common schools at the lowest salary level kept costs down.[25]

This internal training and recruitment was aided by the formation of the Central High School in 1847. Since the 1830's, the privately run Woodward High School had received 10 male graduates of the common schools each year for tuition-free higher education.[26] In 1845, Catherine Beecher and associates formed the Board of Popular Education to promote the founding of normal schools — basically, high schools oriented toward teacher training. In Cincinnati, Beecher urged private charities to fund such a school as a female counterpart to Woodward. The board of trustees welcomed the idea as a means of acquiring "properly educated female teachers." They reasoned that "the largest portion of the teachers in the Common Schools, always must consist of females; and from various causes a large number . . . do not remain permanently; hence there is required annually a number of new female instructors."[27] When Beecher's effort failed, the trustees removed the highest grades from the district schools and created a coeducational school in a central location — hence the name, Central High School — one of the avowed goals of which was to "train [teachers] in the enlightened practice of the best methods." Analysis of the lists of Central School's female pupils reveals that a large proportion did later teach in the public schools; the lists also show that nearly all Central's pupils were from artisan, working class families.[28]

Although Central's creation was justified mainly as a cost-saving consolidation, a pupil's admission to the school required satisfactory results on an entrance examination.[29] This was consistent with the concurrent efforts to upgrade the performance of common school teachers through periodic "teacher institutes," special weekly training sessions, standardized annual exams for pupils, and a reexamination of the entire teaching staff.[30] Significantly, school managers had also begun an attack on the notion of common schools as schools for the poor, arguing that public schools utilized economies of scale for the benefit of all: "A great enterprize (sic) in which all are equally interested, can be better managed, at a less expense, . . . when connected in one grand system."[31]

Looking at the 1840's as a whole, many of the directions established in the prior decade continued. The percentage of employees who were female grew from 67% to 73%, while the number of female principals remained stable. The average purchasing power of female employees continued to rise slowly. However, real salaries of male employees rose much faster, and by the end of the decade, the pattern of employment by sex in the district schools had crystallized. Each house contained one male principal and one male first assistant in the male department, who both made higher salaries than the one female principal in the female department. All other teachers were typically female.

The stage was set for the 1850's, when a new layer of occupational segregation by sex would develop in the public schools. The position of female principal was eliminated in 1856, and did not reappear. There were only two or three female principals for the rest of the century, and all were special cases — a temporary replacement in a district school, the principal of the normal school, and a superintendent of drawing.[32] The men in the system were almost invariably superintendents, principals, and first assistants who functioned as assistant principals. The relative integration that had prevailed in the system's early decades was replaced with rigid job segregation, based on sex; the results of this change can still be seen in our schools today.

Notes

[1] See Nancy Jean Rosenbloom, "Cincinnati's Common Schools: The Politics of Reform, 1829-1853," PhD dissertation, University of Rochester, 1982, pp. 37-58.

[2] See Steven J. Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788-1890* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 3-24.

[3] Trustees and Visitors, *Seventh Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1836), p. 17, and *Tenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1839), p. 7.

[4] There were originally five members, one from each ward. In 1837, the size of the board was doubled, with two members elected from each ward, to accommodate the increased work load of this unpaid office. From 1837 until 1880, the board continued to grow as the size and number of wards in the city increased. Rosenbloom, op. cit., p. 55 and Janet A. Miller, "Urban Education and the New City: Cincinnati's Elementary Schools, 1870-1914," doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1974, p. 253.

[5] The size of this board was increased to 7 in 1834. Rosenbloom, op. cit. p. 55.

[6] Trustees and Visitors, *Fourth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1833), p. 13.

[7] Rosenbloom, op. cit., p. 215.

[8] See Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5 (Spring 1980), pp. 494-503.

[9] "Just as soon as it is known that educated females can get "steady business as teachers at a fair price, they will be qualified and ready to take the schools. It is a work better adapted to their taste and their relations in life, than the manufactory, where our females are now compelled to earn a scanty support by drudgery wholly inconsistent with their sex." *Common School Advocate*, vol. 2 no. 24 (Cincinnati: December 1, 1838).

[10] Rosenbloom, op. cit., p. 26.

[11] Beecher founded one of Cincinnati's female academies in 1833. She went so far as to argue that "every woman ought to be trained to act as an educator; and not only so, no woman ever ought to be considered as qualified to become the head of a family till she has been practically exercised in this her highest professional duty." Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* vol. 1 (New York: The Science Press, 1929), p. 109.

[12] Strober and Tyack, op. cit., p. 497.

[13] The confusion as to the nature of the relation between principals and assistants was evidenced by an 1833 dispute between a female principal and female assistant, which was resolved by their local trustee granting each of them exclusive control over her class. However, in 1838, at the request of the Teachers' Faculty Association, the board of trustees clarified the distinction between principal and assistant teachers by giving principals authority over assistants. Rosenbloom, op. cit., pp. 191, 213-4. Eventually, principals were given a clear set of administrative responsibilities, as well as teaching duties in the highest classes in the school. In the late nineteenth century, most principals were relieved of all teaching duties and the position became completely administrative.

[14] Trustees and Visitors, *Seventh Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1836), p. 10.

[15] Rosenbloom, op. cit., p. 201.

[16] Trustees and Visitors, *Fourth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1833), p. 4, *Seventh Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1836), p. 8.

[17] Trustees and Visitors, *Tenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1839), p. 2.

[18] The trustees noted that many of the schools "had, within the last year, been graded and the males and females placed in separate apartments . . . The results of this plan have been so favorable, that the Trustees would recommend the same measure [in those schools] where the males and females are collected together in the same rooms." Trustees and Visitors, *Ninth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1838), p. 3.

[19] See Ross, op. cit., pp. 48-51.

[20] Ibid., p. 5. In their deliberations on salary policy, the trustees had consulted the College of Professional Teachers. An editor of the *Common School Advocate* who was also a member of the CPT as well as the Board of Examiners, offered the following advice on "how to get good teachers": send the younger children to female teachers, since "females are naturally better adapted to teaching and governing small children." Furthermore, "by having at least half the work done by females, there will be something saved to make up what is required to pay the male a fair price," since the females' wages, "(right or wrong) are but little more than half what is paid to males." *Common School Advocate*, vol. 2 no. 24 (Cincinnati: December 1, 1838).

[21] The freezing of the Ohio River in the winter of 1840 had resulted in severe economic hardship for Cincinnati, worsening the continuing depression of trade begun by the Panic of 1837. See Ross, op. cit., pp. 48-51.

[22] Trustees and Visitors, *Eleventh Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1840), pp. 2-3.

[23] In this period, some sex-based differentiation also appeared in the curriculum of the higher grades. Catherine Beecher's *Domestic Economy* became a required text for girls, while boys studied Political Economy and Political Grammar. Trustees and Visitors, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1843), p. 4.

[24] Trustees and Visitors, *Sixteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1845), pp. 3-4 and Trustees and Visitors, *Eighteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1847), p. 4.

[25] Trustees and Visitors, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1848), p. 19.

[26] See Trustees and Visitors, *Seventh Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1836), p. 9 and Rosenbloom, op. cit., p. 145.

[27] Rosenbloom, op. cit., p. 149-150, Trustees and Visitors, *Sixteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1845), p. 6, and Trustees and Visitors, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1846), pp. 3-5.

[28] Trustees and Visitors, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1848), pp. 6, 20-22. An officially designated normal school was not made part of the Cincinnati public school system until 1868. See Trustees and Visitors, *Thirty-ninth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1868), pp. 201-202.

[29] Trustees and Visitors, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1848), pp. 6, 20-22.

[30] Trustees and Visitors, *Twelfth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1841), pp. 43, 51, Trustees and Visitors, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1843), p. 26, Rosenbloom, op. cit., pp. 224-226, Trustees and Visitors, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1846), p. 6, and Trustees and Visitors, *Eighteenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1847), pp. 6, 29-31.

[11] Trustees and Visitors, *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1846), p. 4.

[12] See Miller, op. cit., p. 209, and Trustees and Visitors, *Sixty-Second Annual Report* (Cincinnati: n.p., 1841), p. 291. The superintendent of drawing in the 1890's, Christine Sullivan, had a PhD, had written several books, and was the only woman in the nineteenth century Cincinnati schools to have a permanent appointment which required supervising men.

Part III

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION

The Latin Question

An Episode of Encounter in American Catholic Education

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The Latin Question caused a painful episode in the history of Catholic education in the United States from 1900 to 1923 during which time the American Christian Brothers, a teaching congregation in the Church, were banned from teaching Latin in their schools. Textbooks on the history of American Catholic education do not speak about The Latin Question. Their silence could reflect their regard of it as an anachronism in light of the current lack of classical language in American education. Their silence could be a way out of not having to explain embarrassing encounters which took place in the Church during the episode. Their silence, however, is not due to any lack of information about The Latin Question. The national public press gave the issue fair amount of coverage; the Brothers opposed to the ban were prolific letter writers; and the episode has been documented by the historian W. J. Battersby. Whatever may be the status of The Latin Question for textbook historians, the oppressive way in which the ban came about contains a lesson for us today about Church politics and education.

John Baptist DeLaSalle founded the Christian Brothers in France in 1680 as a Congregation of lay religious teachers dedicated to giving a suitable Christian education to poor children. Latin was not taught in the Brothers' schools, and to preserve the Brothers' non-clerical character DeLaSalle had also forbidden them to study Latin. The numbers of Christian Brothers increased, and their educational program in the vernacular became popular in France. They came as teacher missionaries via Canada to the United States where they established their first permanent school in Baltimore in 1845. As in France the number of their schools grew in popularity and spread across the country.

In 1854 Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, Missouri, petitioned the Brothers to introduce Latin into the curriculum at Christian Brothers' Academy and to undertake the high school education of his seminarians. Permission was granted by the French Superiors and extended to the other academies and colleges of the Christian Brothers in the United States. For fifty years Latin and the classics thrived in the Brothers' educational establishments.

The Latin Question was: Was DeLaSalle's prohibition of Latin essential to the educational mission of the Brothers and, therefore, without exception? It was the position of the American Christian Brothers and the American Church hierarchy that the prohibition was not essential and that the circumstances of Catholic education in the United States and the needs of the American Church required exception to the rule. It was the position of the French Superiors of the Christian Brothers and some American members of the Jesuit Order that the prohibition was essential to DeLaSalle's charter for the Brothers and that continued exemption was dangerous and detrimental to their educational mission and had to be rescinded. This paper is a brief record of some episodes of encounter of the American Christian Brothers and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States with the French Superiors of the Christian Brothers and some members of the Jesuit Order in their pursuit to answer the Latin Question.

The first serious objections to the permission to teach Latin came from outside the Christian Brothers. "In 1858 the Jesuits reported the American Christian Brothers to Rome for "irregularities," that is, for not observing the article of their Rule which forbade the study and teaching of Latin."[1] When Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore, the blood brother of Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis, was asked by the Roman Authorities about the Jesuits' complaint, his reply was: "Let the Brothers alone; they are doing a good job."[2] Of course, Archbishop Kenrick's response might have been colored by the fact that his brother had asked the Christian Brothers to teach his seminarians because he feared he would lose them to the Jesuits if the seminarians went to the Jesuit school.[3] Later, when the ban on Latin was in effect, Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, learning that fewer high school boys were going to the diocesan seminary and that the Jesuits had canvassed the city recruiting bright students, remarked impatiently: "The Jesuits are cutting the ground from under my feet, and the Christian Brothers are doing nothing to help my seminary."[4]

In 1866 the Jesuits complained to the Second Plenary Council at Baltimore about the Christian Brothers teaching Latin. Representatives of the hierarchy, including Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore and Archbishop Spaulding of Peoria, informally discussed the background of the complaint, and the only problem they could see was that there were not more Brothers to do justice to the work. The Jesuits canvassed the Council and withdrew their complaint.

In 1885 a representative of the French Superior of the Christian Brothers visited the United States and told the Brothers "that the Jesuits had assured him of their determination to exclude the commercial course of studies from their colleges as soon as the Brothers decided to cease teaching Latin and Greek classics."[5] When the Apostolic Legate to the United States was called to Rome to attend hearings on the Latin Question, he allegedly accepted a thousand dollars from the Jesuits in America to further their interests.[6]

The press frequently featured the action of the Jesuits as against an intrusion. Apparently there was cause for concern in enrollment to the Jesuit and Christian Brother high schools and colleges which operated in the same cities. The Chicago *Sunday Times Herald* (Jan. 22, 1899) depicted the situation as a "struggle between the two greatest educational bodies." When the ban was placed on the Brothers, *The Independent* (Nov. 1898) reported on the politics of the encounter:

> In this country the Jesuits have bitterly opposed classical teaching by the Christian Brothers, and have not allowed that they are capable of teaching either Latin or philosophy. . . . From time to time complaints have been made to Rome in order to have the Christian Brothers cease teaching Latin and the classics, and require them to submit to their original charter. Such complaints were without result until last year when under repeated Jesuit influence, the Congregation of Regulars, consisting of nine members, five of them Jesuits, with its presiding office also a Jesuit cardinal, promulgated the decree.

The New York World (July 27, 1899) in an article covering the efforts of the American hierarchy to plead the case of the American Christian Brothers concluded: "The leaders of the Jesuits, however, are powerful in Rome and it is thought that their influence will prevent any further changes in the decree." The Jesuit editor of *Civita Cattolica* wrote in personal correspondence regarding Archbishop Ireland's intercession in Rome against the ban: "His (Ireland) taking now the defense of the Christian Brothers in the United States against their General may not prove as effective and beneficial to the Brothers as some might think. The General of the Christian Brothers has in Rome among the cardinals many and very powerful advocates."[7] The St. Louis *Washington Post* (March 1, 1899), however, reported on the Jesuits' non-involvement: "Again and again have individual Jesuits declared that their Society has remained neutral during the agitation of the Latin Question in Rome."

The Jesuits continued to watchdog the enforcement of the ban. When the Brothers at St. Mary's College, California, tried subterfuge and taught Latin in storefront classes off campus, the Jesuits discovered it and reported the matter to the Archbishop Riordan. Brother Benedict who was guilty of this caper wrote: "They (Jesuits) pulled the rug out from under me." It was during these years that the great rivalries were built up between the Jesuit and the Christian Brother institutions in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco and their differences were settled by the students on the athletic field.

Whatever had been the influence of the Jesuits on the resolution of the

Latin Question, the main cause of the ban was the rigid inflexibility of the French Superiors of the Christian Brothers. Why the French grew uneasy with the permission given to the American Brothers to teach Latin becomes clear in light of history. First, the French Superiors enthusiastically identified with the work of the first French missionary Brothers to the States, but as the French pioneers were replaced with native American Brothers their nationalistic sense of pride diminished. Second, the military action taken by the United States in the Spanish American War was not viewed sympathetically by France. In following its manifest destiny the United States was breaking away from its European origins, and this had a chilling effect on relations with the French. Third, the rupture in the Redemptorist Order by Father Theodore Hecker and the formation of the Paulist American Order confirmed their suspicions of the American spirit of independence which clashed with the traditional European mentality in matters of religion. Not even the American hierarchy was spared their charge of "Americanism." Fourth, not accepting the educational and cultural differences between the two countries the French Superiors could not see why the Brothers' schools in the United States should not be modeled after their successful schools in France.

In 1885 the representative of the French Superior sent to the United States tried to bribe the President of Christian Brothers College in Memphis, Tennessee, by offering to help defray the college's heavy debt but only on the condition that the college drop Latin. The same French representative refused to listen to the explanations of the Brothers justifying their curriculum, and he alienated them to the point where some of the American Brothers spoke of separation from the French domination.[8]

The integrity of the original permission obtained by the American Brothers to teach Latin was also attacked by the French Superiors. Unfortunately the permission given at the General Chapter of 1854 had been only verbal. At the General Chapters of 1873 and 1882 the permission was renewed and written into the minutes, but the minutes were never published.[9] In 1884 the American Brothers who were sent by the French superiors at the request of Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco to take over St. Mary's College, the diocesan seminary, regarded the mission as a mandate to teach Latin.

At the General Chapter of 1894 the American delegates were hoodwinked into voting for the strict interpretation of the rule, after they were given assurance that the exception extended to the United States would remain in effect. A "saintly" high ranking French Superior appealed to the fraternal sympathies of the Americans and convinced them that the Superior General, who was then very ill, could not take a strong fight on the floor over the Latin Question. When the highest ranked American Brother tried to explain to a hearing commission his position regarding the Latin Question, the same French Superior shouted him down with "*Tais toi! Tais toi!*" (Shut up! Shut up!) Two American Brother Provincials were accused before the same commission of lying about the permission to teach Latin. The ban, however, was not immediately put into effect because the wording of the mandate from Rome had stated that it be implemented prudently and little by little.

Under the leadership of Archbishops Byrne of Memphis, Riordan of San Francisco, Ireland of St. Paul and Spaulding of Peoria the American hierarchy in personal appeal, in Synod and in Plenary Council continued to beseech the French Superiors and the Roman Curia to reconsider the Latin Question in light of the pastoral needs of the American Church. The metropolitan archbishops argued that it was the spirit of the Church to adapt itself wherever principle is not involved to the circumstances and needs of each age and nation. They maintained that John Baptist DeLaSalle who was always respectful and obedient to the Church and its needs, were he alive today, would undoubtedly recognize the urgent educational needs of Catholics in the United States, and would permit the Brothers to teach Latin in their schools.

The several memorials sent by the Archbishops to Rome emphasized the eminently successful record of the Christian Brothers teaching Latin for fifty years. The Brothers play a significant role in the education of future priests in many dioceses. The Brothers are not abandoning their mission to poor children by teaching Latin in their high schools and colleges; they still enthusiastically maintain their parochial grammar schools. The ban on teaching Latin confirms in the minds of people outside the Catholic Church that the Church is anti-intellectual and an enemy of learning. If the Brothers cannot teach Latin, then many of their students will have to go to the "godless" public school to receive an education in the classics.

Unfortunately the appeals of the American hierarchy were to no avail, and the morale of the American Christian Brothers reached an all time low. Student enrollments dropped. As more and more Sisters moved into the grammar schools the Brothers were frustrated by the need to move into high schools without recognized college preparatory programs. Disillusioned some Brothers talked of forming a separate American Order, others left the Order. Still others frustrated in their requests to the French superiors appealed directly to authority in Rome.

Secure in their position of authority the French Superior appeared to be amused at the efforts of the American hierarchy to have the ban lifted. The French Superior insulted Archbishop Byrne of Memphis, the envoy of the hierarchy of the United States, by making him wait unnecessarily and by treating his appeal as simplistic. The French Superior cast aspersion on the entire American hierarchy by reporting them to Rome as suspect: "The Archbishops were not to be trusted as they had ulterior motives in what they did." A letter appeal from William Torrey Harris, Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, was dismissed by the French Superior as the request of an "official whose educational ideas were the laughing stock of Europe."[9] The French Superior exiled thirteen outstanding American Brothers, the Provincial Officials, College Presidents and Professors, Directors of Academies who had promoted the continuance of the permission, to teach in elementary schools in small towns in France, England and Egypt, and he disenfranchised these Brothers so that their views could not influence future General Chapter deliberations.

At the General Chapter of 1897 the new French Superior was neither open minded nor diplomatic. "The rigid attitude he had adopted on the Latin Question, he was determined to maintain, and the history of the Christian Brothers in the United States during the next quarter of a century was largely determined."[10] All permissions of all previous General Chapters regarding the teaching of Latin were abrogated. The teaching of Latin in the Brothers schools in the United States had to stop within the space of one year with no regard for the hardships this ban would cause students currently enrolled, and a tight system of enforced inspection was set up. On January 10, 1900 the case of the Latin Question was closed.

Much to the embarrassment of the American Brothers each member of the Church hierarchy was sent a copy of the ban with an accompanying letter requesting that a check be made on its enforcement. In the letter the French Superior denied that the American Brothers were ever given formal permission to teach Latin, and he implied that the highest ranking American Brother had lied about this matter.

Down but not out, the American Christian Brothers began the work of re-tooling and of developing a new curriculum. They capitalized on the current progressive elective system promoted by Charles W. Eliot at Harvard. In the 1901 catalogue of Christian Brothers College in Memphis under the heading of "A Departure" we read:

> The Faculty of the College are reluctantly obliged by the Roman Decision of January 10, 1900 to eliminate the classics from the curriculum, and are, consequently, constrained to substitute the modern languages. . . .
>
> In following this departure the Faculty are not inaugurating a new movement. Already Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Regents of the University of the State of New York have adopted this plan of elective studies. . . .
>
> The Faculty of the College in a special meeting resolved that the students shall not remain in ignorance of the great classics of antiquity. . . . The future graduate of the College will perhaps enjoy a greater familiarity with the literary masterpieces of the ancient authors than his predecessors, for he will study them in good idiomatic English. These, with the modern classics, will constitute an integral part of the Collegiate course leading to the B.A. Degree.[11]

Manhattan College (of which *The New York Star* had written in 1870, "There is no Catholic College in the state in which the study of Greek and Latin is cultivated with more earnestness and success.") developed a school of engineering and architecture to replace the students lost in the classics. St. Mary's College California redefined its concept of liberal education and set up Schools of Science, Business Administration and Economics. LaSalle College Philadelphia made a similar transition and became a large urban commuter college. St. Michael's College Santa Fe, New Mexico, survived by depending on its high school section for enrollment for decades. Destroyed by fire Christian Brothers College St. Louis gave up its college charter and was rebuilt as a high school. Most of the Brothers' high schools developed a "dollar and cents" curriculum. For example, St. Patrick Academy, "The Parent School of the Archdiocese of Chicago," actually increased enrollment during this time due to its strong commercial and scientific courses. DeLaSalle Institute, built in 1888 to give the poor boys on the South Side of Chicago a business education, had a "Counting Room" which became a showcase of high school business education.

During the quarter century ban (1900-1923) the hierarchy and the Brothers quietly continued their efforts to re-open the Latin Question. Msgr. Denis O'Connell, rector of the recently founded Catholic University in Washington, D.C., joined the fight to regain the Brother's schools as sources of students. A movement to undermine parochial education in Oregon was afoot, and the American hierarchy renewed its pressure on Rome. And the Brothers made it known that they were ready to re-establish classical programs in their schools to best serve the needs of the American Catholic Church. When the French Superior forbade any mention of the Latin Question in the commissions preparatory to the 1923 General Chapter, the American Brothers protested to Rome, and his prohibition was dropped.

Nine days before the General Chapter of 1923 Pope Pius XI, himself a scholar and an educator, sent a mandate to the French Superior General to rescind the ban:

> His Holiness judges that the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools ought, henceforth, to extend its teaching to classical studies, as it has already done with success to the higher educational sciences . . .
>
> The mind of the Sovereign Pontiff is clearly this, namely, that this extension of your teaching to the classics should change nothing whatever in the nature of the Institute, which is to remain distinctly lay, and made up exclusively of lay religious, according to the will of its Founder . . .
>
> The Holy Father is well aware that he is thus procuring to the sons of St. DeLaSalle, already so deserving, an occasion of new merit and greater devotedness.[12]

Thus ended a quarter of a century of restriction and frustration in American Catholic education which very few educators today remember as caused by the Latin Question.

Notes

[1] Ronald Isetti, *Called to the Pacific*, (St. Mary's College Press, Winona, Minn. 1979) p. 110.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 34.

[4] W.J. Battersby, *The Brothers in the United States, 1900-1925*, (St. Mary's College Press, Winona, Minn. 1967), p. 339.

[5] Ibid., p. 199.

[6] Ibid., p. 53.

[7] Ibid., p. 161.

[8] W.J. Battersby, *Brother Maurelian*, (St. Mary's College Press, Winona, Minn. 1968), p. 39.

[9] Battersby, *The Brothers in the United States*, p. 154.

[10] Ibid., p. 73.

[11] Hubert Gerard, *Mississippi Vista*, (St. Mary's College Press, Winona, Minn. 1948), p. 270.

[12] Battersby, *The Brothers in the United States*, p. 354.

Mother Theodore Guérin and the Education of Sister-Teachers 1840-1856

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> There seems to be a growing tendency of late to acknowledge women's work in the domain of education. It is a tardy recognition. Honor demands a tribute of gratitude, notably in the case of female Religious in the United States; and the awakening augurs well for the public spirit of discernment and justice. We American Catholics are proud of our country's rapid progress. Let us not forget the power that initiated and developed some of its grandest institutions.[1]
>
> *J. Cardinal Gibbons*

Introduction

Before beginning the topic of this study, it is important to briefly discuss some timely, related events that will give a proper contextual perspective to the account that follows. The historical background is of the United States in 1840, a period that was beginning to evidence a very slow, but steady transformation of women both within and outside of the Roman Catholic educational system. Furthermore, this writing gives a concise overall view of this educational systems accentuating the role of women educators. As a matter of present-day relevance, this study presents a sample representation of the ideals espoused by past and current women educators, thereby, illustrating their similarity; namely, the importance of women educators in achieving the advancement of education for women.

Bearing in mind the discussion of the academic environment and the similar ideals of some selected past and current women-educators, this writing proceeds to the historical narrative of one Roman Catholic educational organization, that of the French Congregation of the Sisters of Providence. This Congregation is shown to be the source from which the American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence originated, thus enfolding the major discussion of this writing.

Subsequently, this study provides a biographical sketch of the life of Sister Theodore Guérin, later known as Mother Theodore Guérin, who founded the American Congregation. It depicts her role as a pioneer woman educator in the wilderness of Indiana from 1840-1856.

Finally, this study describes the early stages of the Sister-Teacher Education Program initiated by Sister Theodore. Also, in order to provide the sense of the factual continuity of events, this writing concludes with the direction of the Sister-Teacher Education Program that would be carried on after her death.

Roman Catholic higher education for women in the United States began in the early decades of the nineteenth century. During these years, the schools were established by religious congregations of Sisters and were known as academies or convent schools. These schools were not considered to be of collegiate rank nor did they pretend to be such.[2] See Appendix A for a geographic listing of the development of Catholic girls schools from 1727-1852.[3]

Outside of the Catholic school system, many notable nineteenth century women contributed their efforts to the education of women. For example, in 1821, Emma Willard founded Troy Seminary in New York, the first secondary school for women in the country.[4] Later on, in 1837, Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke, the first women's college.[5] These two women, Emma Willard and Mary Lyons, provide representative examples of the pioneer efforts of nineteenth century women in the field of education.

There were some additional marked advancements in the education of women even though women were only gradually being admitted to ever higher levels of education. As noted above, the first big step was the movement of women from acquiring an education at the primary school level to the secondary school level. Then, women moved from the secondary school level of education to the college and university level of education where doctoral degrees were awarded them.[6]

One of the first colleges to open its doors to women was Oberlin in 1837. Almost 17 years later, Vassar opened its doors to women. Wellesley and Smith followed some ten years later opening in 1875. Then, Bryn Mawr opened in 1885.[7] See Appendix B for a listing of the Catholic colleges and their date of founding.[8]

A point of interest here is that although some professional schools such as Harvard, Yale and the University of Chicago admitted women in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, certain professional schools within the university still remained closed to women (i.e. Schools of Law, Medicine, etc.). So, even though these beginnings were meager, they were a start.[9]

It is worthy to note that the brief aforementioned list of accomplishments by women is by no means exhaustive.[10] The reason for the brevity of the discussion herein is threefold. First of all, this writing is limited to provide insight into one particular accomplishment in the education of women. Secondly, up to this time, writers of histories tended either to entirely neglect the achievements of women or to only give them token recognition.[11] Thus, there is not a vast amount of recorded information regarding women educators. And thirdly, following from this second point, it may be surmised that many accounts of women in the writings of histories in general were never recorded, and thus are lost for all posterity.[12]

Purpose and Ideals

This writing endeavors to present a balanced view of teacher education in the United States, including both male and female contributions in education. At the same time, this writing highlights a unique contribution to women's education; namely, the Sister-Teacher Education Program of the Sisters of Providence which began in 1840 when Sister Theodore Guérin arrived from France to the wilderness of Indiana.

Although her work took place almost a century and a half ago, Sister Theodore's ideals might be considered relevant today in that her main purpose in coming to America was to educate women.[13] Current literature seems to be focusing on the role of women in education.[14] For instance, a present-day women's advocate and author, Florence Howe, captures the ideals of some women educators in the following passage:

> Instead of bemoaning the fact that women numerically dominate the teaching, nursing, and social work professions, why not consider that fact important strategically? Why encourage the most talented women to enter a physics laboratory rather than a school superintendent's office or a department of educational administration? Why is it more important to spread the thin tokendom of women through the nontraditional kingdoms than to attempt a transformation of the traditional ghettos themselves — especially if one of those, the public school system, is responsible for the perpetuation of sex stereotyping and the low aspirations of women?[15]

Howe's words voice the "raison d'etre" for many women educators. Namely, the importance of the strategic position of women educators in achieving the advancement of education for women. Howe has merely re-emphasized the key position, the most logical and natural position, where talented women are absolutely essential. She states, in effect, that the teaching profession affords endless opportunities for empowering women and enabling them to advance in their knowledge and abilities; thereby, achieving their rightful place in every field.[16]

As has been reported in national statistical documents dating back to the turn of the century, women have dominated the teaching profession.[17] See Table 1.

In brief, the research data has shown that the reason for the large shift from a male-dominated profession to a female-dominated profession is because women would accept low salaries and had lower aspirations than men.[18] See Table 2.

> It is true that sentimental reasons are often given for the almost exclusive employment of women in the common schools; but the effective reason is economy . . . If women had not been cheaper than men they would not have replaced 9/10 of the men in American public schools.[19]

Table 1

Number of Public Elementary and Secondary School Teachers for Specified Years, by Sex

	Elementary[a]			Secondary[b]		
School Year	**Total**	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**	**Men**	**Women**
1899-1900	402,690	116,416	286,274	20,372	10,172	10,200
1909-10	481,543	91,591	389,952	41,667	18,890	22,777
1919-20	586,268	63,024	523,244	102,675	32,386	70,289
1929-30	640,957	67,239	573,718	213,306	74,532	138,774
1939-40	575,200	67,140	508,060	300,277	126,837	173,440
1941-42	558,828	59,567	499,261	300,060	123,627	176,433
1943-44	538,936	31,890	507,046	289,054	94,782	194,272
1945-46	541,528	34,916	506,612	289,498	103,293	186,205
1947-48	554,939	39,655	515,284	305,739	122,258	183,481
1949-50	589,578	52,925	536,653	324,093	142,043	182,050

[a] Elementary schools may include grades K-6, K-7, or K-8.

[b] Secondary schools may include grades 7-12, 8-12, or 9-12.

Source: Lloyd E. Blauch, ed., *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955).

Table 2

Average Weekly Salaries of Teachers, 1865-1918

	Rural		Urban	
	Men	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
1865	$ 9.09	$ 5.99	$23.15	$ 8.57
1870	10.88	7.53	35.42	11.88
1875	11.46	8.00	36.63	12.69
1880	9.73	7.46	31.36	12.20
1885	10.95	8.23	33.15	13.24
1890	11.30	8.55	32.62	13.16
1895	11.70	8.91	31.63	13.40
1900	12.13	8.93	31.54	13.88
1905	14.39	10.15	33.79	14.86
1910	17.11	12.15	36.42	17.38
1915	18.61	13.63	37.15	21.06
1918	20.75	14.35	40.06	23.90

Source: R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961): 454.

From the statement above, it may be derived that not all of these women educators were driven by the ideals as declared by Florence Howe. On the other hand, most of these early women educators simply wanted to belong to a profession; and for a long time, teaching was the only profession available to them. However, within the ranks of this profession, some women educators saw the need to raise the aspirations of women.[20] These women educators were driven by the twofold ideal of: 1) equality for women through education and, 2) the importance of the strategic position of women educators in achieving that equality. The nineteenth century saw the beginnings of this movement toward the advancement of education for women.

Foundation in Indiana

Among these beginnings in 1840 was the establishment secured by Sister Theodore Guérin, a Roman Catholic Sister from France. With her small group of five Sisters and three postulants, Sister Theodore founded a Catholic Female Institute near Terre Haute, Indiana, later known as St. Mary-of-the-Woods College. The school accepted its first students in July of 1841,[21] and received the first charter ever granted in Indiana for the higher education of women in 1846.[22]

Since Sister Theodore Guérin's purpose in coming to America was to educate women,[23] she sought to assist women in the incorporation of the ideals and sense of direction that were, over a century later, so aptly summarized in the words of Florence Howe. As evidenced by her constant efforts, Sister Theodore seemed to know that educators occupied the most strategic positions for advancing the cause of women, and thus, implemented that knowledge through her training of Sister-Teachers.[24]

Thus, the efforts of Sister Theodore Guérin coincided with that of Emma Willard, Mary Lyons, and other notable nineteenth century pioneers in the education of women. She accomplished a great deal for women. Sister Theodore not only founded the American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence, but also set into motion the Congregation's Sister-Teacher Education program.[25] Her influence is still operative today through the educational efforts of the Sisters of Providence who continue to teach in various parts of the United States and in some foreign countries.[26]

And so, upon Sister Theodore's arrival from France in 1840, another step was taken which would continue to advance the pace in the transformation of women. Some questions must be posed to direct the following account of her education efforts. In the words of Francis Wayland, who had been President of Brown University around 1850:

> Whenever an institution is established in any part of our country, our first inquiry should be, what is the kind of knowledge (in addition to that demanded for all) which this portion of our people needs, in order to perfect them in their professions, give them power over principles, enable

> them to develop their intellectual resources and employ their talents to the greatest advantage for themselves and for the country? This knowledge whatever it may be, should be provided as liberally for one class as for another.[27]

The inquiries to be posed here are: "Who was Sister Theodore?" "Why had she come to America?" "What was the focus of her Teacher Training Program?" The remainder of this writing will address these questions.

The French Congregation

This pioneer French Sister, Sister Theodore Guérin, belonged to the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence located at Ruillé-sur-Loir. The French Congregation, founded in 1806, had already been well-established in the teaching profession. The founder of this religious community was Father Jacques Francois Dujarié, the eldest son of Jacques and Frances Leroux Dujarié. It is interesting to note that the name of the town of his youth, Ste. Marie-du-Bois (St. Mary-of-the-Woods), later became the name of the location of the American Foundation of the Sisters of Providence. Another point of interest is that during Jacques' young adulthood, his father served as mayor of this town.[28]

Jacques Francois Dujarié was born on December 9, 1767 at Rennes-en-Grenouille. He was noted for having a depth of spirituality and a propensity for selflessness. It was no surprise when he entered the Seminary of Angers.[29]

When Jacques was in the third year of theological studies, the Angers Seminary was forced to close its doors.[30] This action was one of the direct consequences of the French Revolution which ordered the suppression of all religious orders.[31] Jacques then went to Chantenay for awhile where he faced many more obstacles to his ordination as a priest.[32]

"A law passed January 1794 authorized the death penalty without trial for anyone accused of the public practice of religion. Jacques' former pastor was guillotined; 1,300 persons were beheaded in one night."[33]

Jacques was secretly ordained in 1795. Eight years later in 1803, following the Concordat of 1801 which called for the reconciliation of Church and State, he was publicly declared pastor at Ruillé-sur-Loir.[34] As the new pastor, Father Dujarié immediately immersed himself in reviving the parish. After the restoration of the parish church, he set out to find qualified individuals to conduct classes for the young of this parish.[35]

With the arrival of Julie-Joséphine-Zoé Rolland, the Countess Du Roscoät, the foundation of a religious community of women began to take shape.[36] This former Countess became the first Superior General of the Sisters of Providence and was later referred to as the co-founder by

Father Dujarié, himself.[37]

"'*Zoé arrived at Ruillé in 1819 at the age of 38, having left the family estate in Pichodel without a goodbye, wearing her riding habit and carrying with her only a gold watch which she literally pawned to pay the expense of taking the 170 mile journey to Ruillé.*'"[38]

Even though the religious community was then very small, composed of only 10 Sisters, teaching in seven different locations, the Sister-Teacher Education Program was already in operation as may be concluded from a portion of a letter written by the first Superior General, Sister Marie Madeleine:

> The rule he has given our Sisters is very wise and breathes the charity of his zeal for perfection. I have found the sisters much better educated than I had imagined in everything concerning their way of life. We have a dispensary, and we instruct children . . . Abbé Dujarié, our Father, has given them an excellent method of teaching.[39]

Father Dujarié had established specific educational requirements for future teachers. Some of these requirements may be noted in the following correspondence written by Father Dujarié in 1825 to the Brothers of St. Joseph. He used these same practices for the preparation of the Sister-Teachers. His French writing and the English translation are cited below.

Circulaire pour les Frères de St. Joseph

Mes très chers Frères

> Afin d'engager les chers Frères à faire beaucoup de progrès dans le courant de l'année, jusqu'à la retraite de 1826, je les préviens qu'ils subiront un examen la surveille de la retraite prochaine en présence de dix curés qui seront les juges pour savoir quels seront les Frères qui répondront le mieux
>
> 1. sur le catéchisme
> 2. sur la grammaire
> 3. ceux qui auront la meilleure écriture
> 4. ceux qui seront les plus forts sur l'arithmétique
>
> Il y aura deux prix pour chaque science et deux accessits, plus un prix d'excellence pour celui qui réunira le plus de connaissances sur les quatre sciences sur lesquelles on fera l'examen qui durera depuis 9 heures du matin jusqu'à une heure après midi.

Circular for the Brothers of St. Joseph
My very dear Brothers

> In order to urge our dear Brothers to make much progress in the course of the year until the retreat of 1826, I caution them that they will take an exam on the eve of the next retreat in the presence of 10 parish priests who will be the examiners to determine which Brothers will perform the best

> 1. *on catechism*
> 2. *on grammar*
> 3. *those who have the best writing skills*
> 4. *those who are the strongest in arithmetic*
>
> *There will be two first honor awards for each category and two second honor awards plus an award of excellence for the one who gathers the most knowledge in the four areas upon which the exam will be based (which will last from nine in the morning until one in the afternoon).*[40]

Once these academic requirements were fulfilled, Father Dujarié prepared the teachers for the delivery of the content. The method of teaching that Father Dujarié presented to this young community of teachers, was the method found in the text written by St. John Baptist De La Salle, entitled, *The Conduct of Christian Schools*. This method was a popular method used among Roman Catholic teachers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[41] Some of the teacher education ideas found in this text are still being used today in one form or another.[42]

The account below provides a brief outline of the use of the text, *The Conduct of Christian Schools*, as the starting point for the Teacher Training Program of the early French Congregation of the Sisters of Providence. As is indicated by the following quotation, these Sisters were well prepared for the teaching profession.

> Though ready and willing to conform to American needs and curricula, the Sisters were not unprepared for their task in the field of education. The French Sisters of Providence possessed a regime of instruction, which had been highly successful in France and is outstanding in education all over the world even to the present day, none other than the system established in the seventeenth century by Saint John Baptist de la Salle and popularized in the educational institutions of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Bishop Bouvier's Rule points out the pedagogical methods and the school equipment of the Brothers as models to be followed by the Sisters of Providence in all their schools. They were not alone in this. The French trace was already deeply marked upon Catholic education in America. The American Sisters' schools, even those taught by the native American orders, all bore the imprint of de la Salle's training, as they were in practically every case founded and supervised by French priests who were themselves products of the Brothers' schools.
>
> Among the books brought from France for the new American foundation was a copy of the 1837 edition of the *Conduite des Ecoles Chrétiennes*, Par Messire de la Salle, Prêtre, Docteur en Théologie et Instituteur des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, Revue et Corrigée, the very book held up in the Rule as the Sisters' guide in teaching. First in Europe to replace Latin by the vernacular and the individual by the simultaneous method, Saint de la Salle's system has stood the test of divergent times and continents, and in the hands of his Brothers has encircled the globe. Normal schools for his teachers were another of his epoch-making innovations copied only slowly and much later by others.

The outstanding norms of the system remained largely unchanged all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: silence, the use of signals, emphasis upon religious teaching, stress upon written work, class recitations, grading, and confidence in the best pupils. No doubt the small calf-bound copy of *Conduct of the Christian Schools* occupies an honored place next to the works of Saint Teresa, Saint Francis de Sales, Saint Jure, and Grou in the tiny spiritual library at Saint Mary-of-the-Woods. The first pages of Saint de la Salle's book outline the daily program for the three primary grades to be reproduced in many American Sisters' schoolrooms:

> 6, daily Mass, followed by the reading lesson; 9:15, spelling, followed by dictation; 10:15, prayers; 1:15, review and recitation of the morning's lessons followed by arithmetic; 2:45, writing; 4, catechism.[43]

A thorough study of the text, *The Conduct of the Christian Schools* is not in keeping with the purposes of this study. Many books, dissertations, and articles treat this topic much more completely.[44] This writing will strive to include the ideas found in the text written by St. John Baptist De La Salle only when it directly applies to the American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence.

Thus, following the guidelines in teacher education formulated by St. John Baptist De La Salle, and the particular spirit of the co-founders, this French Congregation of the Sisters of Providence developed an outstanding reputation as educators.[45] The Congregation not only grew in the number of Sister-Teachers, but also expanded their influence to many new locations. By 1834, there were 255 professed Sisters who were teaching in 58 different locales.[46] As the Congregation continued to grow in number, more and more requests were being made for their educational services throughout France. In 1839 one momentous request was made, that of requesting the Sisters of Providence to come to the United States to teach.[47]

At the invitation of Bishop Celestine de la Hailandiere, Bishop of the Diocese of Vincennes, Indiana, the French Congregation of the Sisters of Providence agreed to send six Sisters to begin an independent educational foundation.[48] Before finalizing the agreement, the General Superior of the French Community stipulated the condition that Sister Theodore Guerin would lead this missionary group of sisters.[49] The Mother General, replying to the Bishop's request wrote: "We have only one Sister capable of making the foundation. If she consents, we shall send you Sisters next summer."[50] Upon Sister Theodore's consent on August 26, 1839, Bishop Celestine de la Hailandiere finalized the negotiations.[51]

Under the missionary leadership of Sister Theodore Guerin, the new foundation in Indiana did indeed flourish.[52] However, her educational and leadership abilities were recognized long before her arrival in Indiana on October 22, 1840.[53]

Early Life

Sister Theodore was the religious name given to Anne-Thérèse Guérin when she entered the French Congregation at Ruillé on August 18, 1823.[54] Anne-Thérèse was born on October 2, 1798 in Etables, France. She was the oldest of four children born to Monsieur and Madame Laurent Guérin.[55]

At the age of nine, while attending a small school conducted in the home of a young teacher, Anne-Thérèse began to show signs of intellectual prowess and leadership. "While her attendance contributed very little to her intellectual improvement, it was discovered that she was a leader among children. They gathered around her and obeyed her every dictation without demur or objection, so completely were they under her sway."[56] Even though she was gifted in so many ways, she had not always been interested in schooling.

> Mademoiselle Thérèse did not get interested in her studies, and the restraint imposed upon her was so irksome that she sometimes escaped from her tasks and spent the day roaming about among the hills. Before the end of the first year this so-called school was closed to the great delight of the children, especially Madame Guérin's little daughter.[57]

Later on, Anne-Thérèse was fortunate to have been tutored by a young seminarian, a distant relative.[58] At this time, she developed a fondness for her studies in general and acquired a special fondness for the reading of history and literature.[59]

Anne-Thérèse had long considered entering a religious congregation.[60] However, it was not until after a chance meeting with a Sister of Providence from Ruillé that she decided to apply for admission into that newly formed Congregation of educators.[61] She entered the Congregation at Ruillé at the age of 25,[62] and two years later began duties as principal and teacher at a school in Rennes which numbered around 600 students.[63] In no time at all, she had transformed this school into one [illegible]at was highly respected by the Bishop of Rennes and the civil authorities.[64]

> When the new Superior appeared before the wayward children of that school at Rennes, they stared at her with significant impertinence, giving glances at one another that meant she too would be in tears before long, as some of their former mistresses had been seen to weep. When the time came to meet them in the class-room, Sister Theodore addressed them some remarks suited to the occasion. She had not been speaking long when one of them, apparently the ringleader, exclaimed, 'What a fool! she thinks we are going to be like Sisters.' A general outburst of laughter followed. Sister Theodore tried to impose silence, but the laughter and ridicule only increased. There was no alternative but to control her feelings and appear composed. By degrees the disorder ceased, and she discreetly turned from religious instruction to subjects more congenial to their perverse tastes. Having assigned the various teachers for their tasks, she left the children without any signs of displeasure on account of the reception

they had given her. She supposed that that was the worst. The following day she went to resume her doctrinal instructions, determined to make this food for their souls acceptable to them. As soon as they saw her, they cast looks around that indicated their prospective triumph. Having listened quietly to her for a few moments, at a signal from one of them all arose at once, took hold of hands, and began to sing and dance noisily like children in a frolic.

Sister Theodore had resolved to keep her self-possession even if she could not maintain order, so she sat quiet, waiting till they would be tired out and stop of themselves. Finally they ceased, and, sitting down, looked steadily at Sister Theodore, who then took a switch that was kept in the room for refractory pupils and broke it into pieces. This seemed to surprise them, but it pleased them as well. Seeing they were now disposed to listen to her, she began calmly to speak to them. She did not reproach them for their naughtiness, nor did she once allude to the conduct they had just shown, but with a pleasant countenance she unfolded her plans for their work, and told them what pleasures they might expect if they gave satisfaction. She so worked upon their ambitions that they were captivated; in a word, the victory was gained with those seemingly incorrigible little girls.

Sister Theodore strictly kept her promises. At the close of each daily session she distributed tickets — guarantees of merit — to the deserving pupils, thus ruling her now thoroughly subdued children more by persuasion than by severity. This was the method she adopted during the remainder of her life. She found the grace she needed in those trying moments by frequently invoking the guardian angels of the children, a practice she ever after maintained and recommended to all who were in any way engaged in the care of children.

The teachers whom she directed followed her methods with very good results, though it cannot be said that the reformation of those children was effected in a day. Their old habits clung tenaciously to them, and great patience, forbearance, and tact were necessary to complete the reform; but their hearts were gained; and 'a teacher who has the tact of gaining the hearts of her pupils can do with them as she pleases; her counsels, her admonitions, even her reprimands are well received.' How often had not the Sisters heard these words before! They now experienced the truth and saw the wisdom of this article of their holy Rule.[65]

Nine years later, after developing the school at Rennes to its greatest potential, Sister Theodore taught in a small rural school in the town of Soulaines.

At Soulaines, a tiny village in the vicinity of Angers, a totally new round of duties came to her. Sister Theodore, gifted with a natural aptitude for the care of the sick, devoted herself to this duty with considerable success and took a course of training in nursing and materia medica from the local physician, which was further supplemented by some weeks of more advanced study in Paris.[66]

Publicly Recognized

Even though success followed all her efforts, Sister Theodore was particularly skilled in the methods of teaching.

> So universal were her talents that everything to which she applied herself seemed to be her specialty; yet it might be said that she excelled in mathematics. Her pupils gave evidence of their superior training when the school inspectors of Angers made their official visit. Charmed with the class in mathematics, they examined successively every other branch, and they were unstinted in their praise in the proficiency of all. Sister Theodore was reported to the Board of Education as a highly gifted and efficient teacher, upon which assurance she was voted medallion decorations. The honor was as unexpected as it was unique. Engaged one day with her household duties, she was suddenly met by the gentlemen who had been commissioned by the French Academy to present to her the testimonial of the government's recognition. Self-possessed always, she received them with her wonted grace, being as capable in the simplicity of her domestic occupations as in the more exalted role of preceptress. When they retired it was only to assert that her merit had not been half-way estimated. But the honor conferred upon Sister Theodore was painful to her humility, and no one would ever have known the object of this, their second visit, had not the school authorities themselves given publicity to the affair. They insisted that she would receive the honor publicly, in the presence of the town authorities and the curé of the parish. Sister Theodore never referred to the incident afterwards unless questioned, and then her statements were very brief.[67]

Thus, as a recipient of the French Government's Medallion for excellence in teaching, it is no wonder that Sister Theodore was chosen to found an educational establishment in the wilderness of Indiana. Even greater feats in the educational realm were in store for her. For under her pioneer leadership, the foundation at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana would be the first Catholic institution for higher education of women in the state of Indiana.[68] The narration to follow describes this foundation and the expansion of her education efforts in America from 1840 until her death in 1856.

Arrival in Indiana

Departing from France in July of 1840, Sister Theodore and five other Sisters arrived in New York in September of 1840.[69] As the little group travelled east to Indiana, Sister Theodore wasted no time with regard to the task before her. She conferred frequently with prominent educators and visited as many schools as possible during the journey from New York to Indiana in order to become familiar with the American system of education.[70]

On October 22, 1840 the six Sisters of Providence from France arrived at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.[71] This site was located about four miles northwest of Terre Haute, situated in Sugar Creek Township of Vigo County, Indiana.[72] Upon arrival, Sister Theodore was deeply concerned about this choice of location for the establishment of a school.[73] She expressed her consternation in the following words.

> We continued to advance into the thick woods till suddenly Father Buteux stopped the carriage and said, 'Come down, Sisters, we have arrived.' What was our astonishment to find ourselves still in the midst of the forest, no village, not even a house in sight.[74]

It was at this time that Sister Theodore became Foundress and Superior General of the American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence and was given the title Mother Theodore Guérin.[75]

Despite the initial desolation, this American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence began to grow in number of Sister-Teachers as young American women came to join the French Sisters in their educational efforts.[76] Soon after their arrival, the Sisters turned their attention to the preparation of their first academy in Indiana. The building for this academy had already been under construction.

> Not far from this odd convent Bishop Brute had commenced a brick building destined to be the first Academy. We shall listen to Mother Theodore's impressions on first seeing it, as written to her friends in 1841: 'It is a castle of the times of chivalry, so concealed by the trees that it can only be seen when very near it; still, trees have been felled for its erection. It is a fine brick building 46 × 25 feet, two stories high, and has five windows in front. The corner-stone of this house was blessed August 17, 1840.'[77]

This building was the first site of the present-day St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, the first female institution of higher education in Indiana.[78] The first student to arrive at this school was Mary Lenoble, a Protestant girl, on July 4.[79] The next day, three more students arrived.

> On July 6 four more pupils arrived, among them Miss Hebb from Terre Haute and two young girls from Paris, Jane and Elizabeth Kelly. Two days later came Anne Law, daughter of Judge John Law from Vincennes. From Terre Haute came Mary Farrington, daughter of James Farrington, one of the city's prominent pioneer business men; Kate Dowling, daughter of Thomas Dowling, editor of the *Wabash Courier*; and the fifteen-year-old twins, Mary and Matilda Richardson, granddaughters of Joseph Richardson, the pioneer New Yorker. The two Miss Richardsons had been boarders for several years at Vincennes, where they had known Sister Aloysia and had been her pupils. The list is closed with Ellen Young from Paris. Most of these girls were Protestants, but all, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, walked through the woods and across the bridge to the little chapel in the convent farmhouse on July 7 to assist at the Mass of the Holy Ghost and the solemn chant of the Veni Creator to beg God's blessing upon the Sisters' work with these young Americans, already loved and cherished as gifts of God to their zeal.[80]

Education of Sister-Teachers

Thus, the school term began after much preparation on the part of the Sisters. First of all, preparation demanded that the Sisters learn English.[81] Secondly, there was also the task of choosing the appropriate textbooks.[82] The third phase of this preparation involved the announcement of the school in the local papers.

The first advertisement ran for seven consecutive issues during the summer of 1841:

> PROVIDENCE OF ST. MARY'S OF THE WOODS
> Situated in Sugar Creek Tsp., Vigo Co., Ia.,
> 4 miles northeast of Terre Haute
>
> St. Mary's Academy for Young Ladies will open the second of July. Branches taught are as follows: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography and History, both Ancient and Modern, English Composition, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany, Mythology, Biography, Astronomy, Rhetoric, Plain and Fancy Needlework, Bead work, Tapestry, and Lace work.

Terms — Boarding, including the above branches per annum	$100.00
Extra charges	
French language, per annum	10.00
Music, instrumental and vocal	30.00
Drawing and painting in water colors, imitation of oil paintings on linen	20.00
Oil painting on velvet, oriental painting, embroidery and artificial flower work	10.00
Washing and mending per annum	12.00
Stationery	5.00
Medicine at the Apothecaries' rate	

> Those who wish to learn the Latin, German, and Italian languages can do so. Terms the same as for the French. For further particulars application must be made to the Mother Superior. All letters directed to the Institution must be postpaid. A Prospectus will be published in a few weeks. Mother St. Theodore. N.B. The Chicago "Democrat," the Springfield, Ill., "Journal" and "Indiana Journal" will publish to the amount of $3.00 each and charge "Courier."[83]

While all these preparations were being made, Mother Theodore instructed the Sisters each day in the methods of teaching.[84] Her efforts in this regard marked the beginnings of the teacher training program within the American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence. However, teacher training, as a formal academic approach, was still in its infancy in 1840, both in the United States and abroad.[85] Much of the education of young teachers was passed on informally.[86]

Mother Theodore started her instruction with the Sister-Teachers by relating by experience as a teacher.[87] "In the practical lessons in pedagogy, given by Mother Theodore to her little Community, the memory of which was later one of their most precious souvenirs, Saint De La Salle's book was her guide."[88] This quotation refers to the same text described earlier in this chapter that Father Dujarié used to train the Sister-Teachers in France.[89]

With such fine preparations and such expert teacher training methods, the ever-growing Congregation of the Sisters of Providence quickly acquired a noteworthy reputation as highly qualified teachers.[90] Among the public educational distinctions was the charter granted to the Institute at St. Mary-of-the-Woods.

> A charter of the most commendable nature was granted in January, 1846, which placed St. Mary-of-the-Woods on a basis with the first-class colleges of the country, and which removed any disabilities that might have been considered legal impediments to the free action of the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence.[91]

Another notable recognition, among the growing number of commendations that St. Mary's Institute began to receive in these early years, is the following tribute by the Governor of Indiana.

> In his message to the Legislature of December 4, 1849, Governor Paris C. Dunning had referred to the facilities for higher education of girls available in Indiana: 'It is a source of unmingled pleasure to be able to state that the important subject of female education is rapidly gaining a strong hold upon the feeling of our people.' Among the 'many flourishing female institutions in our state' the Governor mentioned Saint Mary-of-the-Woods among the first five 'where fair daughters get as good as the more favored portion of our country.' The Community's preeminence in the educational field was never contested even by the bitterest opponents of their religion.[92]

A third notable mention to be included in this account is an excerpt from a notice that appeared in the Terre Haute newspaper. The actual date has not been established, probably somewhere between the years of 1854 and 1855. "As we are fully satisfied with the high merit of St. Mary-of-the-Woods, so we are proud that this ornament of our State is continually receiving increased manifestations of the public appreciation."[93]

As St. Mary's Academy continued to grow, the Sisters began to expand their educational efforts throughout Indiana.[94] Mother Theodore spoke of the pressing need for more Sister-Teachers in a letter dated February 8, 1849 addressed to Bishop Bouvier, Bishop of Le Mans, France.[95]

> Our Congregation is everywhere appreciated; Sisters are called for in almost every town of the diocese. I have just been obliged to write a letter of refusal to a German priest, pastor of a large Congregation near Cincinnati; and last week we refused to form an establishment at Indianapolis, where non-Catholics as well as Catholics press us to begin our work there.[96]

In the handwriting of Mother Theodore, still preserved in the Archives at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, there is a listing of all the localities where the Sisters staffed schools in 1853.[97] That listing is reproduced on the following page.

Tableau Des Etablissements

Jasper
Sr. Agnes, Sr. Saint Michel, Sr. Clara.
Vincennes, Asile des Filles
Sr. Mary Margaret, Sr. Mary Xavier
Sr. Philomene, Sr. Bonaventure, Sr. Mary Anne,
Sr. Saint Felix, Sr. Matilda.
Vincennes, Asile des Garcons
Sr. Joachim, Sr. Mary Therese, Sr. Monique,
Sr. Emmanuel.
Fort Wayne
Sr. Saint Vincent, Sr. Mary Celestia,
Sr. Gabriella, Sr. Felicité, Sr. Isidore,
Sr. Lawrence, Sr. Mélanie.
Madison (en ville)
Sr. Basilide, Sr. Maria, Sr. Saint Jean,
Sr. Mary Angèle, Sr. Ann Joseph.
Terre Haute
Sr. Augustine, Sr. Caroline, Sr. Mary Antoinette,
Sr. Clotilde.
Evansville
Sr. Anastasie, Sr. Alphonse, Sr. Saint Elizabeth,
Sr. Saint Paul.
Nord Madison
Sr. Catherine, Sr. Louise.
Au Pensionnat de Saint Mary's
Sr. Mary Cecilia, Sr. Saint Urbain, Sr. Marice,
Sr. Josephine, Sr. Saint Charles,
Sr. Victoire (pour la musique), Sr. Mary Eudoxie
(musique), Sr. Mary James (musique),
Sr. Mary Joseph (idem et Francais).
Pour le travail, Sr. Therese, Sr. Lucy,
Sr. Helene, Sr. Benedicta, Sr. Ophidia,
Sr. Véronique.
Maison Mère
Notre Mère, Sr. Saint Francis Xavier,
Sr. Olympiade, Sr. Mary Magdalen, Sr. Martina,
Sr. Mary Ambrose, Sr. Agatha, Sr. Pauline,
Sr. Ann, Sr. Martha, Sr. Rose, Sr. Patrick,
Sr. Roseann, Sr. Saint Ange.[98]

During these years (1840-1853), Mother Theodore travelled extensively, consulting with erudite and experienced American educators, in order to improve upon the general educational efforts of the American Congregation of the Sisters of Providence.[99] Although Mother Theodore instructed all her Sister-Teachers in the method of teaching as presented in the text by St. John Baptist De La Salle, she gave an added emphasis to the training of beginning Sister-Teachers by providing them with intensive lessons in practical pedagogy before they were sent to teach.[100] Annually, all the Sister-Teachers received special intellectual preparation and instruction in teaching during summer sessions at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, their motherhouse.[101]

Within each academic year, Mother Theodore visited every classroom of her growing Congregation of Sister-Teachers.[102] The following somewhat humorous anecdote reveals the fact that Mother Theodore used some practical and common sense approaches in her role as teacher-observer.

> The training which Mother Theodore gave so generously to the young American Sister sometimes took a very practical turn. One day in her class Sister Anastasie noticed that one of the young ladies in the rear, far from attending to the lesson, was absorbed in a letter which she was reading. After a few minutes interval during which the culprit was seemingly lost to the world, she was rudely awakened by the teacher's voice ordering the offending letter and the offender to the desk. The former turned out to be what was technically known in Victorian times as a 'love letter,' and when Sister Anastasie signified her intention to confiscate it, its owner absolutely and positively refused to give it up. A battle royal ensued, which continued for several days and came eventually to the knowledge of Mother Theodore. Next morning she suddenly appeared at Saint Vincent's to see Sister Anastasie. She had made a special trip, she said, 'to teach Anastasie a lesson,' and the lesson was, never to ask a girl for a love letter. 'She will give you her right hand or her eyes before she will give you her love letter, so never again, my child, be so foolish as to ask for it.'[103]

Conclusion

Before drawing this writing to a close, it would be well to reflect once more on the original purpose of the Congregation, the education of young women. It may be said that Mother Theodore was genuinely concerned about, not only the advancement of education for women, but also about the role of women educators and their efforts to improve the status of women. In another letter addressed to Bishop Bouvier, Bishop of Le Mans, France, she states:

> The young people of this country are little qualified for government; their education renders them unfit. Women are not employed in any kind of business in America. It is said that in the East they are beginning to take up the French way, but as yet, we are strangers to this movement in our Woods.[104]

This concern may be readily identified time and again throughout the history of the Sisters of Providence as the additional quotation on this topic suggests.

> Careers for women were far in the future in America, although the idea was never general as it was in Europe that they were inferior to man intellectually. We have noted the surprise with which Father Molony, fresh from Europe, observed Sister Saint Liguori teaching the elements of philosophy at Madison to her advanced pupils. The home bounded the horizon for every American girl however in the 1840's, and spinsterhood bore a more or less definite stigma.[105]

Stemming from her keen interest in the development of women educators, Mother Theodore was quick to ensure that her Congregation of Sister-Teachers would have time to continue to develop professionally instead of becoming overburdened with unrelated duties. She took active measures to spare Sister-Teachers from performing duties that were unrelated to teaching professionals.

> Nowadays the relations between school and convent and pastor are more or less fixed by diocesan and other customs, but a hundred years ago circumstances were very different, and no set procedure was customary. The Sisters' duties quickly absorbed all their time, with the long hours in the school room and their spiritual exercises of Rule to perform afterwards. In addition they had household duties of their own and the care of the altar and the cleaning and laundry for the church. At Saint Francisville they had added over and above, cooking, laundry, and mending for Father Ducoudray. Now, however, the Bishop ordered a change. They were to be entirely independent of the pastor in house and school, and were to prepare his meals only if paid for doing so. Small matters like this added beyond measure to the unrest in the diocese. At this time Father Ducoudray was taking active measures to affiliate himself with another diocese in the South, and some eight other priests were sharers in the negotiations. Mother Theodore herself was eventually forced to try to exempt the Sisters from cooking for the missionaries.[106]

Thus, it is evident that in every way, in and out of the classroom setting, Mother Theodore Guérin educated and guided her Sister-Teachers with a strong emphasis on the advancement of education for women. As has been described, Mother Theodore was continuously involved in the total educational operation of the Congregation.[107] As a nineteenth century pioneer woman educator, Mother Theodore accomplished monumental tasks in Indiana for a total of fifteen and one-half years, from 1840 until her death in 1856.[108]

> On the 14th (May, 1856), about a quarter past three in the morning, this cherished Mother departed from her desolate daughters, from this land of exile, to enter on the road to her true country, after having spent thirty-two years in the religious life. Charged for the last sixteen years with the most important functions that it is given a woman to fulfill, she ever showed herself superior to her task.[109]

In a letter, dated April 3, 1854, two years before her death, Mother Theodore penned these words to a member of the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence, one of the original six. These thoughts express her projection into the future.

> Well, my daughter, ours is a preparation for the generation that will succeed us, and eminent good will be done this way by us. You may not live to see it, but you will have sown the seed, and your Sisters will come to reap what will have been sown.[110]

Mother Theodore's pioneer efforts have had a deep influence, not only on the immediately succeeding generation of Sister-Teachers in the

Congregation of the Sisters of Providence, but also on all the succeeding generations, even up to the present time. Since 1856, the Sister-Teacher Education Program has endured many changes. However, the program has been undeniably distinguished by the presence, energy, and foresight of the Foundress, Mother Theodore Guérin. One, among many nineteenth century woman educators, Mother Theodore Guérin provided the leadership necessary to achieve the advancement of education for women in the wilderness of Indiana. Her motto, VIRTUS CUM SCIENTIA (i.e. KNOWLEDGE AND VIRTUE UNITED) provided a sound base for this work.[111]

Notes

[1] J. Cardinal Gibbons, Introduction to *Life and Life-Work of Mother Theodore Guérin*, edited by Sister Mary Theodosia Mug, S.P., (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1904), xx.

[2] Francis Patrick Cassidy, A.M., "Catholic College Foundations and Developments in the United States (1677-1850)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1924), 73.

[3] *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Education I."

[4] Janet Zollinger Giele, *Women and the Future*, (New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1978), 252.

[5] Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 20; Sister Mary Mariella Bowler, *A History of Catholic Colleges for Women in the United States of America*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1933), 4.

[6] Giele, 252.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Guy E. Snavely, *The Church and the Four-Year College*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), 117-125.

[9] Giele, 249, 252.

[10] Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Science Press, 1929), 414. An exhaustively documented study. This is not likely to be superseded for a long time to come.

[11] Michael W. Apple, "Teaching and Women's Work," *Education Digest*, (October 1985): 28-29.

[12] Sister Mary Borromeo Brown, S.P., *The History of the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana Volume I 1800-1856*, (St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana: Providence Press, 1949), 19, 162-163.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Joan N. Burstyn, "Integrating the New Scholarship on Women into Required Courses in Schools of Education: The Case of History," *Education Researcher*, Vol. 15, No. 6 (June/July 1986): 12-13; Michael W. Apple, "Teaching and Women's Work," *Education Digest*, (October 1985); E.A. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates*, (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1979); M. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University, 1982); A.F. Scott, "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 19 (1979): 3-26; B. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, 1985).

[15] Florence Howe, *Women and the Power to Change*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), 165.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Lloyd E. Blauch, ed., *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955).

[18] R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), 454.

[19] Charles Eliot in *And Jill Came Tumbling After*, edited by Judith Stacey, Susan Bereaud, and Joan Daniels, (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 339.

[20] Judith Stacey, Susan Bereaud, and Joan Daniels, eds., *And Jill Came Tumbling After*, (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 338-339.

[21] Brown, 143.

[22] Harold Kay Buckner, ed., *Terre Haute's People of Progress*, (Terre Haute, Indiana, Biographers, Inc., 1970), 19; Sisters of Providence Archieves, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana; Brown, 439-440, 514.

[23] Brown, 19, 162-163.

[24] Ibid., 159-162.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Sister Eileen Ann Kelley, S.P. and Sister Dawn Tomaszewski, S.P., eds., *COMMUNITY*, Vol. 10, No. 7 (July-August 1986): 1-18.

[27] Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education-The National Experience 1783-1876*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1980), 253.

[28] Sister Mary Theodosia Mug, S.P., ed., *Life and Life-Work of Mother Theodore Guerin*, (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1904), ix, 48; Sister Desiree Trainer, S.P., "Paradox and Providence in the Life of Father Dujarié," *COMMUNITY* Vol. 10, No. 6 (May-June 1986): 7; Brown 8-9, 24.

[29] Brown, 8-9.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), 17.

[32] Brown, 8-9; Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 45.

[33] Trainer, 7.

[34] Brown, 9; Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 47.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Brown, 10, 12.

[37] Ibid., 12.

[38] Trainer, 7; Brown, 11.

[39] Trainer, 8.

[40] Father Jacques Francois Dujarié to the Brothers of St. Joseph, 1825, Sisters of Providence Archives, Ruillé-sur-Loir, France.

[41] Kevin J. Griffin, F.S.C., "History of Teacher Education in the Seven Colleges Conducted by the American Christian Brothers" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, Missouri, 1976), 17, 21; Brown, 160-161.

[42] Brother Leo Kirby, F.S.C., *I, John Baptist De La Salle*, (Winona, Minnesota: Saint Mary's Press, 1980): 40-41.

[43] Brown, 160-161.

[44] Dominic E. Everett, F.S.C., "John Baptist De La Salle's The Conduct of Christian Schools: A Guide to Teacher Education" (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, 1984), 1-5; J. Battersby, *History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the Eighteenth Century, 1719-1798*, (London, 1960); J. Battersby, *History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the Nineteenth Century, 1800-1900*, 2 vols. (London, 1961-63); A. Gabriel, *The Christian Brothers in the United States, 1848-1948*, (New York, 1948); G. Rigault, *Histoire générale de l'Institute des Frères des écoles chrétiennes*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1937-53); M. Dempsey, *John Baptist de La Salle: His Life and His Institute*, (Milwaukee, 1940); Kevin J. Griffin, F.S.C., "History of Teacher Education in the Seven Colleges Conducted by the American Christian Brothers" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, Missouri, 1976).

[45] Brown, 13.

[46] Ibid., 18.

[47] Ibid., 52.

[48] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, ix-x.

[49] Brown, 52.

[50] Sister Mary Theodosia Mug, S.P., ed., *Journals and Letters of Mother Theodore Guerin*, (St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana: Providence Press, 1937), xx. There are said to be a sum total of 5,000 writings of Mother Theodore, some of which are included in this compilation.

[51] Brown, 53.

[52] Ibid., 670.

[53] Mug, *Life and Life Work*, 94-95; Brown, 154.

[54] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, xviii.

[55] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 19.

[56] Ibid., 22.

[57] Ibid., 23.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., 32.

[60] Ibid., 33-34.

[61] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, xvii.

[62] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 72.

[63] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, xviii.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 77-80.

[66] Brown, 24.

[67] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 94.

[68] Sister Eugenia Logan, S.P., "One Hundred Years in Indiana," *Catholic World* 152 (November 1940): 222.

[69] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 126; Mug, *Journals and Letters*, 23; Brown, 55, 62-63; For another time related viewpoint see Logan, "One Hundred Years in Indiana," 223.

[70] Brown, 159.

[71] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, x.

[72] Brown, 163.

[73] Ibid., 91.

[74] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, 60.

[75] Rev. Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929), 297.

[76] Brown, 91-92.

[77] Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee St. Mary's Academic Institute, written by a Former Pupil, (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1891), 28. Some 245 pages including a list of graduates from 1860-1890.

[78] Logan, "One Hundred Years in Indiana," 222.

[79] Brown, 106, 143.

[80] Ibid., 106-107.

[81] Ibid., 141.

[82] Ibid., 157-158.

[83] Ibid., 163-164.

[84] Ibid., 159.

[85] George Z.F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, *The Education and Training of Teachers The Yearbook of Education 1963*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), 178-180.

[86] Arthur O. Norton, *The First State Normal School in America: The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926), 90. In addition to the journals, the collection includes other documents on the early history of normal schools in Massachusetts.

[87] Brown, 159.

[88] Ibid., 162.

[89] Ibid., 160-161.

[90] Ibid., 653.

[91] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 331.

[92] Brown, 653.

[93] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 420-421.

[94] Brown, 179.

[95] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, 274.

[96] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 373.

[97] Brown, 670.

[98] Mother Theodore Guérin, 1853, Sisters of Providence Archieves, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[99] Brown, 361.

[100] Ibid., 347.

[101] Ibid., 656.

[102] Mug, *Life and Life-Work*, 349; Brown, 739.

[103] Ibid., 576.

[104] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, 319.

[105] Brown, 526.

[106] Ibid., 356.

[107] Ibid., 162, 738-739.

[108] Mug, *Journals and Letters*, xxvii.

[109] Ibid., 440.

[110] Ibid., 372-373.

[111] *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee*, 61; Brown, 524; Sister Ann Kathleen, S.P. Archivist for the Sisters of Providence. Interview 28 July 1985 and 16 May 1986.

Author's note: This paper is part of a larger research study which includes an extensive bibliography and appendices of girl's schools and four-year colleges owned and operated by Catholic groups in the United States. Interested persons are invited to refer to this larger study.

Part IV

COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Education for the Poor in Nineteenth Century Italy and Spain

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In the industrial states of Western Europe and North America, the nineteenth century is that most important time in which state-supported systems of mass education were developed on a major scale. Contributing to this development were, as numerous sources suggest, the egalitarian ideology of the Enlightenment and the needs of the industrializing economies.[1] The industrial revolution, however, had intensified the social problems associated with poverty, at least in the growing cities, and the presence of so many poor seems to have led to a growing general awareness of their plight. Religious and charitable groups, in particular, renewed and intensified their efforts to minister to the needs of the poor, which often included providing some form of education for them. The early nineteenth century, for example, is memorable for the introduction of Sunday schools and Lancasterian schools on both sides of the Atlantic. Some fine papers delivered at recent professional conferences discuss the work of charitable school organizations in Victorian England and of church-sponsored boarding schools in Belgium.[2] Such schools as these were at work, often quite successfully, while state systems of instruction were being organized and extended rather painfully.

So far, most scholarship in this area concerns Northern Europe and the United States. There is a widespread belief that what happens in the conservative, Catholic South of Europe merely reflects what happens in the North, but at a slower pace. To determine the accuracy of this judgment demands investigation, and the remainder of this paper will be devoted to examining the spread of public education in Italy and Spain and the efforts of religious groups to educate the poor.

Italy

In Italy, the project of extending education to all social classes indeed had its clearest origins in the Enlightenment. Since the reign of Vittorio Amadeo I in the 1720's, the kingdom of Piedmont had been establishing a system of public schools, while Austrian-controlled Lombardy was becoming a center of educational reform. The arrival of Napoleon's armies in the 1790's and the institution of Napoleonic governments opened the eyes of many Italians to the benefits of the French system of law and education. By 1805, the northern areas of occupied Italy had created state secondary and boarding schools for the larger towns and academic centers in Turin and Alessandria.[3] Farther south, the Napoleonic Kingdom of Naples was engaged in educational reforms that included creating primary and secondary schools essentially free of the traditional control exercised by the church. These state schools were to be supported by the municipalities (*comuni*) and charge no tuition. A philosopher of the late Enlightenment, Vincenzo Cuoco, had a hand in drafting this plan.

With the restoration, these programs were cancelled, but the seeds of public education had been sown. Between 1820 and 1840, Piedmont and Lombardy led the Italian states in extending mass education; however, compulsory attendance laws in these northern Italian areas were difficult to enforce, and municipalities were perpetually short of funds with which to pay school personnel.

The political uprisings of the late 1840's encouraged new efforts to extend popular education. Piedmont's "Boncompagni Law" of 1848 required all towns in Piedmontese territory to provide two years of tuition-free education to children of both sexes. It also created the official machinery for supervising and controlling schools in the kingdom. Nevertheless, progress was slow. A member of parliament claimed in 1858 that 145 towns lacked boys' schools, 1151 had no girls' schools, and the kingdom lacked 1523 teachers.[4] Another legislative effort, the "Casati Law" of 1859, gave the municipalities the task of educating all children between the ages of six and twelve. More legislation followed, but in 1864 a parliamentary commission discovered that many towns still lacked schools, particularly in rural districts, and that secondary education was not widely available.[5]

After national unification, a law of 1877 attempted to make elementary education compulsory, with somewhat more success than before. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, the Italian state began to take responsibility for supporting or subsidizing state schools, and at last, the schools began to have stability and viability.

In the parliamentary discussion of state schooling, there was little mention of the actual needs of the poor. The rhetoric of the unification period had to do with nationalism and technological progress. Cavour, the first prime minister of united Italy, was a Manchesterian liberal who was interested in creating vocational schools and technical and scientific institutions. Mazzini, the ideologue of national unity, expressed beliefs in freedom and social equality, but he clearly subordinated the needs of individuals to the needs of the nation. In accord with the widespread idealist philosophy of his time, Mazzini urged citizens to overcome their parochialism and accept the state as the incarnation of a sacred principle: the transcendence of finite individuality.[6]

While the Italian state was forming itself and developing, albeit sporadically, a system of public education to serve all classes, the Catholic church was involved in its own efforts to educate. Church schools had existed since the Middle Ages, but not all concentrated on serving the poor. Jesuits provided free education in their secondary schools, but elementary education was often lacking. There were conservative elements in the Italian church that opposed free education, fearing anarchy and chaos if the poor were given education beyond their ascribed status.[7] By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there were liberal voices in the Italian church calling for renewed Catholic social action, which included education.

An interesting effort to provide day care and early childhood education for the working poor can be seen in the so-called "infant asylums" (*asili infantili*) opened by Fr. Ferrante Aporti (1791-1858). The first such institution was opened in Cremona in 1829; it was for children of working families that could not provide constant care. This institution charged a modest tuition, but Aporti soon realized that the clientele most in need of his services was too poor to pay. For this reason, he found donors willing to support the next infant asylums that he opened. These child-care institutions gained great popularity in the industrial North, but they were banned in the Papal states in 1839. Fr. Aporti served in the national parliament and was for a time superintendent of infant schools in Piedmont.[8]

The call for Catholic education for the poor was voiced by educators and philosophers such as Raffaele Lambruschini (1788-1873) and Fr. Vincenzo Gioberti (1801-1852), but surely the most visible Catholic educator of nineteenth century Italy was Don Giovanni Bosco (1815-1888). The son of a peasant family, this charismatic priest felt an early calling to a vocation of teaching, and his dream was realized a few years after his ordination.

Don Bosco's first priestly duties were among prisoners, exoffenders, and homeless youth in Turin. His growing concern for unchurched and uninstructed young people led him to found his first "festive oratory," actually a kind of Sunday school, in a poor district of Turin in 1844. The oratory included religious services, games, singing, and some literacy instruction, but it seemed insufficient for the needs of the youth in the district. In 1847, Don Bosco opened a hospice for boys in need of shelter. Since a major need of the boys was employment, the hospice opened a workshop in 1853 that provided instruction in shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry and bookbinding. Later, other technical subjects were added, including typesetting and iron work.

As Don Bosco did not wish to ignore academic instruction, he opened a primary and secondary school in 1863 that offered a standard modern curriculum. Later, Don Bosco founded agricultural schools and helped to create a similar network of schools for girls. He did not accomplish these things alone, as from 1855 he had begun to assemble around him the religious order that would become the Salesian Society (named after St. Francis de Sales). Until 1863, the school and hospice in Turin constituted the only Salesian institution. In that year, another home and school were opened, and by the time of Don Bosco's death in 1888, there were over one hundred Salesian schools. Most of these were in Italy, but some also appeared in France, Spain, Belgium, and England. By 1910, the number of Salesian institutions had grown to 345.[9]

In his lifetime, Don Bosco personally solicited funds for the support of his order and its schools. He made it clear to his contributors that his motives were to save working-class youth from poverty, corruption, and sin. Addressing an audience in Florence in 1881, he stated:

> There are so many poor, abandoned youth today who go around like dirty, barefoot tramps in neighborhood of this city of yours and who live by begging, going at night to stow themselves miserably in certain inns where nobody takes merciful care of their bodies and their souls; they grow ignorant of the things of God, of religion and of youth, immersed in all the vices, and capable of all the most wicked acts. Many of them fall miserably into the hands of the law, which tosses them away to rot in some prison.
>
> For this, Don Bosco has come to Florence . . . and has just opened a festive oratory. Don Bosco would also like to open a hospice to shelter many poor abandoned boys, to save them from the corruption of morals and the loss of faith, and to educate them in such a way as to make good citizens and true Christians.[10]

Despite the melodramatic rhetoric of this appeal, Don Bosco's aims are apparent, and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity.

The approach to student management in the Salesian schools was called "preventive" — that is, keeping trouble-prone youth occupied in constructive and religious directions. The schools were not intended to be punitive; rather, teachers were to base their actions on the principle of *amorevolezza* — "lovingness" or perhaps "lovingkindness." The success of the Salesians in their efforts attests to the workability of their approach. Don Bosco was proclaimed a saint in 1934.

Spain

As in Italy, the movement to institute popular, state-sponsored education in Spain had its origins in the Enlightenment. In the belief that the masses required a wide diffusion of knowledge, the eighteenth century monarch Carlos III (1759-1788) ordered public elementary schools to be created for boys and girls. With the king's encouragement, new colleges and secondary schools were also created. These efforts were less than completely successful. As the burden of paying teachers was placed upon the municipalities, teachers were often poorly paid or not paid at all, and they had to exact fees from their students or abandon the state schools for more financially secure positions elsewhere.[11]

The short-lived Napoleonic government in Spain suppressed religious orders and opened free elementary schools in their buildings. After the Spanish Cortes declared independence of France in 1812, they passed legislation on public instruction and adopted a French model of schooling. The political turmoil of the 1812-1876 era, however, did recurring damage to the efforts to establish a system of free public instruction.

The restoration in 1814 enabled the Jesuits to reclaim their schools and to multiply and improve them. A period of relative liberalism following the death of King Fernando VII in 1833 led to several reforms on "English" models and culminated in the General Education Act of 1857, which legislated the existence of state schools on all levels: elementary, secondary, and university. It provided teacher training institutions as well. There followed a period of reaction, revolution, and another restoration in 1875. The new monarch, Alfonso XII, tolerated the activities of liberal intellectuals as long as they were harmless to the state. Thus, in 1876, a group of philosophers and educators founded the *Instituciòn libre de enseñanza* (Free Institution of Teaching).

The *Instituciòn*, lacking the resources to become a university college, became a model preparatory and secondary school, using some of the newest European methods of teaching derived from Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel.[12] Its leaders, particularly the philosopher and law professor Francisco Giner de los Rios, believed that a just society would permit the mingling of rich and poor; consequently, the *Instituciòn* enrolled a majority of poor and lower-middle class children. It also established summer colonies for them at the seashore, where attendance was free for the poor and tuition was paid by the rich.

Despite the concerns and successes of the *Instituciòn*, its benefits did not reach large numbers of the poor, and consequently it did not inspire the imagination of the working class. Its friends and graduates became some of the most noted politicians and creative artists in early twentieth century Spain, but its ideas filtered only gradually into the state schools.

At the end of the century, state schools were multiplying in quantity, but few reflected the quality of Giner's teaching. By and large, state schools were dreary places, cold and dirty and lacking in facilities, where lessons were perfunctory and teachers (most of whom had other jobs) had little or no contact with students. Improvement was sorely impeded by lack of financial resources and trained personnel, and by frequent changes in policy reflecting political struggles in the Spanish government. Upper and middle-class parents shunned state schools, preferring to send their children to religious institutions where, if the children were not well instructed, they were at least well cared for and physically safe.

The failures of government schooling undoubtedly contributed to the disastrous illiteracy rate in Spain. By 1901, only 28% to 30% of the Spanish population could read. In that year, out of 3,800,000 school-age children, only 1,600,000 were enrolled.[13] These conditions did not improve significantly until after 1900, when the government instituted a Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts. This ministry had sufficient funding to pay teachers' salaries, which it began to do in 1902, relieving the municipalities of a burden they had never carried particularly well. Some of the towns resented their loss of control over the teachers, but the introduction of full state funding at last made it possible for the schools to reach and serve a large segment of the population.

The weakness of state education in late nineteenth century Spain continued to provide opportunities for religious orders to establish schools. The Jesuits, for example, had been operating free secondary schools since the seventeenth century, and they did so in the nineteenth century; but they were cautious in establishing them in areas where adequate funding could not be raised, and in any case they shunned elementary education. It took a particularly imaginative and audacious priest to begin a network of schools designed to serve the neediest of Spain's children.

That priest was born Don Andrés Manjòn, born in Burgos province in 1846. From the seminary in Burgos, Manjòn went to Vallodolid and Madrid to study law. While working on his doctoral degree, he earned income by teaching in a secondary school. After several years in Madrid, he obtained professional chairs in law in Salamanca, Santiago, and finally in Granada.

Manjòn was ordained a priest at the late age of forty and was given an ecclesiastical post at Sacro Monte in Granada. He was not there long before he noticed the condition of the poor children, mostly gypsies, who inhabited the area around the church. One day in 1888, while riding on his donkey, Manjòn noticed a group of gypsy children being taught by a poor, unhappy widow in the entranceway of a cellar. She was not a good teacher, she had no teaching materials, and she charged the children a few centesimos for their lessons. When Manjòn learned this, there came to him ". . . the idea of founding a school for the poor children of the Camino of Sacro Monte of Granada and its surroundings."[14]

In a valley just east of the city of Granada, Manjòn acquired a country-house where he opened his first school in 1889. Enrollment grew so quickly that he was soon raising funds to buy seven more houses. These buildings had gardens, fountains, walks, and other amenities to make them pleasant places for the children. By 1892, enrollment had grown to 600. In 1876, that number had more than doubled. It was necessary to build more schools.

Manjòn's schools, called the "Ave Maria" schools, had seven classes of boys and seven of girls, modestly segregated. Each class had its own teacher with a specific room and learning program. These classes were graduated by age and achievement level. The teachers were rigorously examined, and in later years many of them came directly from Manjòn's teachers' seminaries. Teachers received awards for having well-prepared students — an early version, perhaps, of merit pay. Students were in school eight or nine hours a day, in which they received five hours of classroom instruction. Subjects included grammar, language, and writing; arithmetic and geometry; singing, geography, history, and of course, religion.[15]

The "Ave Maria" schools were popular among the poor, and, as previously stated, they proliferated in number. By 1922, there were four such schools in Granada alone, each consisting of several houses. Elsewhere in Spain, there were over 170 similar schools. Manjòn did not found an order, but his imitators were many. The cost of operating such a system was high, but all of the schools were supported by wealthy donors — persons whom Manjòn called ". . . men of good will with open hearts and purses."[16]

The religious aims of the "Ave Maria" schools were quite clear. Manjòn's was a ". . . frankly Christian school with all its legitimate consequences. . . ." It existed to oppose what he perceived as the atheism, laicism, and "Caesarism" of the "neopagan" school.[17] "To educate," he pronounced, "is to cultivate and germinate all the seeds of physical and spiritual perfection that God has placed in man."[18] Whether or not the schools accomplished all of their goals equally well, there can be no doubt that Manjòn was a remarkable builder of schools. In 1908, the Papal Nuncio to Spain compared him to Don Bosco and St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle.[19] The Spanish government also recognized his worth and asked him to serve on an advisory commission on public education. Manjòn died in 1923 and was eulogized in the Spanish newspapers.

Reflections

The evidence offered by historical events in nineteenth century Italy and Spain is that neither country was a backwash of European culture, but that the struggle to establish a state-supported system of public schools in each country paralleled events elsewhere, although new developments may have taken a few decades longer. The Enlightenment and the influence of Napoleon were felt in both countries, as were the effects of the Congress of Vienna and the liberal-conservative tension that pervaded most of the century. A difference is that one of the main conservative forces was the Catholic church, especially during the papacy of Pius IX. Undoubtedly, the loss of the Spanish empire and the wars of unification in Italy were also impeding forces.

Public educators in both countries committed blunders born of naivete. They tried to create an essentially "top-down" system of public education,[20] designed to serve primarily national ends.[21] This strategy did not engender great public understanding or enthusiasm. Worse still, the royal governments expected the municipalities to carry the financial burdens, until the failure of that strategy became evident toward the close of the century.

At the same time, the Catholic church was working, with the help of some particularly able leaders, to renew its efforts to provide a particularly Catholic form of education for as many children and young persons as possible, and particularly for the sons and daughters of the very poor. The church had moral, theological, and ideological justifications for what it was doing, and having a relatively clear sense of purpose and centuries of experience in the field could only have helped the church's work. It is interesting to observe that the most successful efforts of the church, those of Bosco and Manjòn, began in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth, suggesting yet another extension of the ancient rivalry between *auctoritas* and *postestas*. In the end, the church could not reach all of the school children, not even all of the poor, as the age of universal compulsory education dawned. Yet the children who came to Don Bosco and Don Andrès Manjòn lacked real alternatives and would have been much poorer had it not been for the efforts of these and other like-minded educators.

Notes

[1] See, for example, Edmund J. King, *Education and Social Change* (Oxford Pergamon Press, 1966), pp. 28–30.

[2] Trevor J. Phillips, "The Ragged Schools Of Victorian England," Midwest History of Education Society, October 1985; and Maurice de Vroede, "Education in Catholic Boarding Schools for Girls Before the First World War," American Education Research Association, 1986.

[3] Enzo Robaud, *Disegno storico della scuola italiana* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1961), p. 9 ff.

[4] Niccolo Rodolico, ed. *Storia del parlamento italiano* (Palermo: S.F. Flaccovio Editore, 1963), 1:294.

[5] Giorgio Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 1976), 5:55.

[6] *Dizionario dei filosofi*, 1976 ed., s.v. "Mazzini, Giuseppe."

[7] Nichola Abbagnano and Aldo Visalberghi, *Linee di storia della pedagogia* (Turin: G.B. Parovia & Co., 1959), 3:167.

[8] Abbagnano and Visalberghi, 3:120 ff.

[9] *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 1949 ed., s.v. "Salesiana."

[10] Pietro Braido, *Don Bosco* (Brescia: La Scuola Editrice, 1969), p. 53.

[11] Jose Castillejo y Duarte, *Wars of Ideas in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1937), p. 110.

[12] Castillejo y Duarte, p. 94.

[13] Yvonne Turin, L'èducation et l'ècole en Espagne de 1874 a 1902 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), p. 101.

[14] Luis Ramirez Silva, S.J. *Pedagogia Manjoniana* (Santiago, Chile: Casa Zaprosana y Caperan, 1926), p. 17.

[15] Silva, p. 34.

[16] Silva, p. 32.

[17] Silva, p. 40.

[18] Silva, p. 43.

[19] Silva, p. 23.

[20] John Boli, Francisco O. Ramirez, and John W. Meyer, "Explaining the Origins and Expansion of Mass Education," *Comparitive Education Review*, 29, May 1985: p. 159.

[21] K.R. Minogue, *Nationalism* (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1867), p. 36.

Modern Education and Social Change in the State of Kerala, India

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A. *Prelude*

The caste system in Kerala was a fierce practice which did not even permit humans of inferior castes to be equal to animals. The cow of an untouchable was more venerable than its owner. The untouchable had no place in the vicinity of the house of a caste-Hindu. He could not walk along the public streets used by masters. In many cases the upper caste member had the authority to kill a polluter; often the latter was mercilessly beaten.

If an untouchable was believed to have committed a crime or even a minor offense, his innocence was often proved by ordeals, such as throwing him into the burning fire or forcing him to put his hand in the boiling oil. If he would come out uninjured, his innocence was proven.

The untouchables were also victims of attack by *Nayar* soldiers to show their martial skills. When a *Nayar* came out of his *Kalari* after training; he used to fight with members of *Pulaya* caste irrespective of their age or sex as a display of his military training. Often the victims were left dead or fatally injured.

Similarly the social conditions of women were not satisfactory. Although the matriarchal system of the *Nayars* provided a higher social status for women in *Nayar* families, generally it rested only with the head of the family, the mother; and other women were restricted to the premises of the house. Brahman and Christian women were more restricted than women belonging to other castes. Generally a woman could not aspire for an education beyond the primary level consisting of reading, writing, arithmetic and music. Of course, some women had achieved higher skills, but they were cases of exceptions. Menstruation was considered one of the disabilities of women, and their movements were restricted even within the house. A menstruating woman was never permitted to attend the temple or church services. For three to five days she had to be confined within a secluded area of the house. Her own children could not touch her, except the babies breast-fed by her.

It was into this society modern education was introduced. In this paper we will examine how it changed a very traditional society, how it consolidated various strata of the society, how the society became receptive to modern education, and the very society transformed by modern education advocated and used it on its way to social emancipation and political freedom.

B. Female Education

When the British came to Kerala, women generally could aspire for no higher than an elementary education consisting of the study of the three R's, and some music. In exceptional cases some women had learned Sanskrit. Learning of the higher order was monopolized by men, because they only had the use of it. The place of a woman was her home, taking care of the needs of her husband and children.

In the beginning, the British were afraid of starting schools for women, because they did not want to interfere with the social and religious life of the people. But they also believed that if they promoted the education of men, they, in turn, undertake the education of women.[1] Although this was the general policy of the British government, the English missionaries took a bold step in the direction of educating women in Kerala. The earliest structured attempt in female education took place in Travancore when Mrs. Mead started her Boarding School for Girls in 1819 at Nagarcoil. This school was intended to impart a Christian and moral education together with the three R's, meant primarily for Christian girls. The girls in this school were taught knitting, spinning, needlework, crochet, and embroidery.[2] Mrs. Norton and Mrs. Baily opened two girls' schools each at Alleppy and Kottayam during the same period. Mrs. Baker, the wife of one of the C.M.S. missionaries at Kottayam, was relentlessly working for the cause of girls' education.

Prior to 1862, there were two schools in Trivandrum under the auspices of the government, one of which was an English school for the education of Christian girls, and the other a Vernacular school for Brahman girls. The former, located at the Cantonment, offered lessons in drawing, music and French for advanced students. The latter, located at Karamana, gave instruction in Hindu music, and received special attention of the royal family. In 1870 another Vernacular girls' school was opened by the government within the Fort at Trivandrum.

Girls' education received impetus when female teachers were appointed in girls' schools. Generally, parents did not advocate the idea of having male teachers for their girls. With lady teachers in the classroom, that social block was busted. During the same period another English girls' school was started at Alleppey in 1874; and another one at Trivandrum in 1863: the latter being for the education of Hindu girls. By the turn of the nineteenth century, there was a rapid increase in girls attending schools. For example, in 1895, there were 28,933 girls in schools, in 1905 the number increased to 47,570 and in 1915 to 73,832.[3] This progress was chiefly due to the Grant-in-Aid Code adopted by the government. In course of time the stigma attached to female education also began to disappear. The missionaries distributed pamphlets to influence public opinion in favor of female schooling.

The English school in the Cantonment, Trivandrum, which was taken over by the government in 1866 when it was about to phase out due to lack of encouragement under the management of missionaries, began to develop as it was open to all castes. In 1867, Ms. Abel became its headmistress. In 1888 it was made a high school, and in 1896 it became a second grade college awarding the Fellow of Arts degree under the Madras University with a new name, the Maharajah's College and High school for Girls. In the same year, fees in the high school were abolished to promote female education.

Another English high school was opened by Ms. Blandford in 1867 within the Fort at Trivandrum with government grants for caste girls. Royal women began to attend this school. Later the St. Joseph's Convent College for Girls was started by the Roman Catholic nuns as a second grade college.

In 1904 there were two second grade colleges, three English high schools, one Vernacular high school, seven English middle schools, 33 Vernacular middle schools, 22 upper primary schools and 116 lower primary schools for female education in Travancore.

In 1908 all girls' institutions in Travancore were placed under an Inspectress with four assistants to help her. The creation of a separate Inspectorate was helpful in identifying problem areas and needs of the female education network in the state. It also provided optional areas of study for girls which were not offered for boys. Courses in singing, sewing, domestic science including sick-nursing and first aid, and the like were added to the girls' curriculum, and some of them had been included as optional subjects in public examinations held by the state.[4]

Along with separate schools for girls, co-education was also encouraged in places where there were no girls' schools, especially in primary schools. In fact the number of girls attending boys' schools was greater than the number of girls attending girls' schools. For example, out of 7,780 girls receiving instruction in 1885, 5,278 were in co-educational institutions.[5] At collegiate level, girls were encouraged to take courses in a men's college when they were not offered in their own colleges. The concept that their girls should attend an all-girl school as maintained by the parents was less and less emphasized. Because of that on the recommendations of the Education Reforms Committee, the Travancore government declared all primary schools "mixed" in 1934. However, all girls' primary schools did not cease to exist.

As a result of the collective enterprises of the government and private agencies Travancore achieved the highest female literacy in India.

The State of Cochin did not seem to have obtained as much progress in female educational institutions as did Travancore although its female literacy always reflected a higher percentage than other regions. It might be possible that an active *Ezhuthupalli* system in Cochin was responsible for it. Although the government had undertaken to run most of the girls' schools in the nineteenth century, female education was a major concern of the Roman Catholic nuns through their convent schools. By 1910 Cochin had three high schools, eleven middle schools and forty-two primary schools exclusively for girls; and over 60 percent of which belonged to the government. Schools exclusively for girls were a later development in Cochin, however. The first government school was started only in 1887, for caste girls at Trichur; and by 1900 the State had only six middle schools and thirty primary schools for girls.[6] However, the number of girls' schools was increasing in subsequent decades, as we have just seen above. But the majority of female education took place in co-educational schools. The reduction of fees for girls also gave added impetus to female education in Cochin.[7]

Malabar, which was directly under the British rule, relatively had fewer girls' schools compared to the other two regions. There too, co-educational institutions catered to the needs of girls. But most of the girls' schools Malabar had were run by the Christian missions and religious groups. In 1914 the Basel German Mission High school for Girls at Calicut was the biggest in Malabar. Roman Catholic sisters also maintained two convent girls' schools each at Calicut and British Cochin respectively. The government also maintained a few primary schools for girls.[8] Later by 1931 the involvement of both the government and private agencies got widened in the area of female education. In spite of all these undertakings, female education as a movement never received a thrust in Malabar.

In fact, it was Travancore which led the whole Kerala in the area of female education. The result was a higher literacy percentage for women. Because of this popular activity women began to come out of their homes and confront the social life of Kerala. The traditions that bound them within the walls of their houses began to break. Women began to realize their role in the society. As many of them, especially Christian girls, began to receive higher education, even living as far as Madras, away from their homes, the inherent capabilities of women began to be recognized by the society. During the first half of this century Young Women's Christian Association played a very constructive role in guiding the young Christian ladies to their appropriate field of education. The new women graduates of high schools and colleges entered into the field of education as teachers. Up until the 1950's most of the educated women chose to become teachers. It was because a teacher's job was easy to obtain or because a teacher's job was easy for a woman to handle. But the role played by these women teachers in liberating the women of Kerala was great. During the second quarter of this century these teachers became strong influences for the cause of female education as such. Later, when the education field could not absorb the increasing number of girls graduating from high schools and junior colleges they became a source of manpower in the medical field as nurses and other paraprofessionals in the area of health delivery. In fact, these ladies in the profession of health are one of the major economic sources of the state at present.

The status of women at present prevailing in Kerala is the result of activities during the past century, especially in the area of female education. And as such, it is the contribution of Christian missionaries.

> The exceptionally high rate of women's education in Kerala is undoubtedly related to the high percentage of the Christian population in the state and the fact that Christian missionaries have been actively associated with educational activities since early times . . . The proximity of schools and provision of free school education have also facilitated this development.[9]

says Sindhu Phadke.

It was the missionaries who opened the way for women's freedom and equality in Kerala. Modern education became a tool to effect this social change.

C. Backward Classes and Education

The lower castes of the society never had access to the traditional school systems in Kerala. They were considered unworthy to receive knowledge. Their lot was to work as agricultural serfs for the nobility of higher castes. Their own social inferiority led them to think that they did not deserve an education. It was the British, both as a political authority, and as a missionary group, who challenged the prevailing social inequality and injustice in Kerala.

Although the British missionaries during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century established quite a good number of schools for the backward classes like, *Izhavans*, Pulayas, and Parayas, they were not without their selfish motives; for they admitted only the Christian converts of these castes into the schools. The very act of conversion was a decastification process, although many of the social disabilities yet prevailed. The Hindu untouchables were never admitted either in a public school or private school. The fact that the missionaries admitted Christian untouchables to their school does not mean that they have not been engaged in the overall uplifting work for the depressed classes. They were always instrumental to upward mobility of the *Harijans*, not only being school operators but also being social innovators demanding legislations in favor of it.

Like in many other areas, it was Travancore that has conscientiously worked for the education of the *Harijans*, although being pressured by the British political authorities. The Grant-in-Aid Code of 1894 allotted funds for the education of untouchable castes, and a number of schools were also established in 1894.[10] By 1896 there were 15 schools for backward classes established by the government. In the following year, 15 more were established.

The missionaries also took advantage of the provisions regarding the education of backward classes contained in the Grant-in-Aid Code of

1894, and opened numerous schools. The missionaries alone had 150 schools for the backward classes thereby making the total number of 250 by 1906. In the meantime, there experienced a shortage of teachers; because many teachers, who were mostly caste-conscious, did not want to teach in schools for the *Harijans*. This led the government to institute 150 scholarships to train teachers for the Vernacular elementary education.

The Grant-in-Aid Code of 1894, which included the Christian converts from the untouchable castes among the beneficiaries, was later amended in 1904 so as to extend the benefits only to the Hindu untouchable. This kind of discrimination from the government was intended to block the influx of backward communities into Christianity. But this also led to some dishonest practices among the already converted Christian untouchables. They began to use Hindu names in schools and declare that they were Hindus, while in fact they maintained membership in their respective churches. Many of the young people educated during this period could not go higher than a primary education, because the program was chiefly geared only to that extent. Most of the people who got an education higher than that were Christians of the untouchable class whose main inspiration came from the missionaries. Many of them eventually became champions of backward classes during the decades to come.

By 1906 the demand for teachers in backward community schools increased and consequently the government established one normal school each at Nagarcoil, Trivandrum, Quilon and Kottayam. It was a one year training with concentration in lower primary education. Members of backward classes were preferred for admission in these normal schools. A middle school graduate was recognized competent to undergo this training.[11]

During the same period another development from the part of the government stimulated education among the *Izhavas*. All the government schools were open to them for attendance along with *Nayara*, Christians and *Nampudiris*. *Izhava* youths began to pour into the local schools to take advantage of the opportunity. The *Izhavas* had already submitted a Memorial to the Maharajah of Travancore demanding admission in the government schools and to the civil service in 1896 under the leadership of Dr. Palpu. In fact the requests in his petition were denied then.[12] Therefore when the government approved *Izhava* attendance in government schools, it created an increasing enthusiasm among the *Izhavas*. To crown this, the Maharaja also declared all *Pulaya* boys and girls to be eligible for attendance in all government schools in 1912. In 1925, again, all schools in Travancore, except seventeen, were open to all castes. In the same year, amendments were made in the Grant-in-Aid Code extending financial aid to schools which only had fewer number of low-caste children.[13] As a result, by 1930, there was no need to maintain special schools for the backward classes.

The State of Cochin also maintained several special schools in areas where the majority were backward classes. Their children were given free tuition and free school supplies. There were many night schools chiefly intended for the working adults of these communities. "And yet, in spite of these attractions, concessions and facilities, the depressed classes do not appear to be taking kindly to education . . ." says Census of India 1931 Cochin Report.[14] The enthusiasm for modern education among the backward classes in Travancore was significantly greater, chiefly due to the missionaries in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches. One of the major projects engaged in by pastors of mission stations consisted of the educational growth of their converts and the backward community they represented.

In fact, very little was done for the education of backward classes in Malabar, although the *Thiya* community[15] was active to send their children to schools, which eventually led them to assume several responsible positions with the British government. But lower castes like the *Pulayas, Parayas, Kuravans* and so on did not receive sufficient educational stimulation chiefly due to "the reluctance of higher castes to allow them to elevate themselves out of their position of serfs."[16]

The leadership that Travancore gave to education of backward classes was helpful not only to make them literates or career-holders in a society. They eventually were powerful advocates of democratic civilization. This eventually led to the consolidation of their own social entities and to the establishment of identity for themselves and their communities without being ashamed of confessing that they were *Izhavas* or *Cheramar*, a phenomenon very much characterized among the Negroes in America in the 1960's and 1970's when the Black communities were entering into a new awareness of self-identity and feeling proud of it. The impact of modern education was such that it not only prepared the government and the upper caste to recognize the disabilities and discriminations the backward classes were victims to, in addition to the fact that they became aware of their own social status and of what they wanted to be.

D. Social Upheavals

With the propagation of modern education the second half of the nineteenth century and nearly the first half of the twentieth century noticed strong uprisals within structures of the society. These uprisals consisted of decastifying efforts of the educated, agitation to establish social equality and equal opportunity, and of creation of awareness even among the upper classes to constitute strength for coping with increasing organizational power of Christians and the lower castes. Modern education gave rise to these upheavals and they, in turn, also spread modern education more and more vigorously to strive after their set goals.

1. Decastification Process[17]

Modern education began to creep into the huts of poor *Izhavas*, Pulayas, and other backward classes through their youths who attended hundreds of schools thrown open to them. The privilege, denied to their parents, began to change the attitude of the backward children. They were once considered polluting not only by touch but also by distance. When the missionaries opened their schools for the untouchable, although made Christians the traditional Christians and *Nayars* did not like the move. Before they had a choice; they could send their children to other private schools or even to a government school. But when all schools were open to all castes including the *Harijans*, the upper classes did not have any other schools to send their children. It was common that the caste conscious teacher made separate seating arrangements for the upper castes and lower castes. But in spite of such inhibitions children naturally interacted with each other. Here started the strong barriers of caste to break down. The once unapproachable and untouchable person was thus seated along with the rest of the higher caste children.

The British, unlike Tippu Sultan, wanted only to bring about sporadic changes. When Tippu invaded Malabar he also attacked the caste system very militantly. Some Brahmans were forced into Islam and eating beef. He stripped all caste honors from the *Nayars* and Brahmans. He even appointed Muslims, newly converted by him from lower castes, as chiefs of villages where *Nayars* and *Brahmans* were in great majority. He wanted to treat the people alike without discrimination of caste. But when Kerala fell under the British their approach was different. They did not want to offend a traditional society and fail instantaneously. They even went to the extent of preserving the rights of the superior class of subjects as far as in consistence with the common good.

But when members of the lower castes came out successful after their education the British appointed them to appropriate career positions without regard to their social background. Moreover, the Indian Penal Code made everyone equal in the eyes of the law. So, in the Malabar area, trends towards social emancipation started earlier than in the other two regions. Caste was not observed in public places and thoroughfares. Hindu caste system began to deteriorate. What Tippu decided to bring about in two months, the British wanted to do gradually.

When modern facilities like the public vehicles, schools, colleges, and government offices began to multiply, physical closeness of humans was inevitable. Since the underprivileged were permitted entry into the power structure of the government earlier in Malabar region, the members of the higher caste had to bear with them and break each of the trends of caste rigidity slowly. However, the privilege of government service was not meant for low castes in Travancore and Cochin until 1930's.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first two quarters of the twentieth century it was a period of uprisals against caste regimentation.

The political historian would describe the changes as due to governmental action, but the social legislation against untouchability, temple entry act

> **and the tenancy acts were the culmination of a long process which really started with the beginnings of westernization of India and the impact of Protestant Christianity. The political policy of the British was not to interfere in social affairs and there was no direct administrative interference with caste procedures, but there was informal, unstructured sort of action against some of the barbarous aspects of caste which both the western missionary and administrator found repugnant to their notions of human dignity.[18]**

says A. Aiyappan. Modern education was the main tool of the British operation against the caste system. It created a new middle class consisting of the pride of an English education and the power-attached careers associated with it. This middle class got stronger and the old middle class began to get weaker. Moreover, higher status of the upper castes could not be maintained due to their erosion of economic standards. These changes began to affect the deference structure of the society which was also essential to maintain caste relationship. For example, *Nayars* and wealthy Christians were addressed *Thampuran* (master) by inferior castes. The deference structure also consisted of appropriate physical postures like inclining or bowing to express respect toward a member of the higher caste, and of using servile self-expressions like *adiyan* (me-the-slave). Similarly, a member of the superior caste always addressed a member of the inferior caste calling the latter with second person singular. After the structures of caste system began to crumble a new deference structure began to be accepted by the low castes. When the upper and lower caste children would interact between themselves, they would naturally call each other by their names. Honorific titles would not have any place in their social relationship. Similarly, when these children came out of the school they called the member of upper castes not *Thampuran* but "Sir." Likewise, instead of the menial self-expressions, they would use "I" which is more self-assertive in front of the members of the superior castes. Similarly, members of the upper castes began to call the members of lower castes who became teachers and government employees "Sir" instead of the derogatory caste suffixes attached to their names like *Pulayan, Chovan,* and so on.

As the deference structure began to disintegrate the foundations of caste system began to crack. At least among the educated the grip of the caste rigidity began to loosen in public places, although unconsciously they were within the barriers of the caste while at home. Modern education introduced a new deference structure based on educational achievement and social mobility in contrast to the traditional deference style based on caste.

Understanding the fact that it was education which was liberating them from the grip of caste more and more depressed castes participated in the educational process. The more educated a *Harijan* was the more free he was from the disabilities of the caste. For example, a *Harijan* college graduate collected more respect than a mere high school graduate.[19] This trend, of course, motivated several youths to strive after higher education which would take them to high hopes.

2. *Communal Uprisals*

When the British appeared on the political scene Kerala had reached a climax of disabilities on account of casteism. Some of the communal agitations took place soon after the British controlled the helms of governments of the three former administrative units in Kerala. Christian and upper class women were only permitted to wear blouses and jackets to cover nudity of the upper half of their bodies. Women of lower castes were not even permitted to throw over a lion breast-cloth to cover the upper part of their bodies. Likewise, the depressed classes were not permitted to adorn their bodies with ornaments made of precious metals. They were forbidden to have tiled roofs for their houses. With a new social philosophy sweeping through the British missionaries and bureaucracy, such social inequalities could not be maintained without suffocation. The "blouse agitation" in southern Travancore shook the social conscience of the whole Kerala; and yet it brought about the privilege of covering breasts only of the *Izhava* ladies converted to Christianity,[20] chiefly because the missionaries pressed the Regent for it. The rights to have tiled roofs and golden jewelries without being additionally taxed (paying *adiyara*) were promulgated only in 1817 by Regent Rani Parvati Bai.[21]

Slavery was a commonplace in Kerala during the former part of the nineteenth century. Slaves were the means of production for the landlords and therefore they were part of their assets. They could be sold or bought with the land or separately like cattle. The price of a slave ranged from three to fourteen rupees.[22] Early British observers like Buchanan and Hamilton had noticed that the slaves in Kerala were leased and sold and that the cost of a slave was equivalent to that of two buffalos.[23] In northern Kerala they were the properties of *Jenmis* who were mainly constituted by the *Nampudiris*, and in southern Kerala (Travancore) of the *Nayars*, native Christians and the Travancore royalty; and the Travancore royalty alone owned one-fourth of the slaves.[24]

It was in Malabar that laws against slavery began to be first enforced. By a Proclamation in 1792 the East India Company prohibited slave trading. In 1819 the practice of seizing slaves for arrears in payment of revenue was discontinued, and by 1843 all sorts of slavery were completely abolished.[25] In Travancore, it was Colonel Munro and the missionaries who caused the Proclamation in 1812 prohibiting purchase or sale of slaves except those attached to agriculture. In fact, this Proclamation liberated only 136,000 *Izhava* slaves. Other depressed classes were still under slavery. During this time the movement to abolish slavery became prevalent in England and the British missionaries in Kerala became deeply conscious of the immorality of slavery. In Kerala, there had been individual cases of the British missionaries themselves freeing slaves living in their land. In 1849 they submitted a petition to the government through the British Resident requesting complete abolition of slavery. Consequently the Proclamation of 1853 declared the children of goverment slaves free.[26] Still slave trade was going on as usual. The missionaries were still preaching against it in their churches and schools. They even bought slaves and freed them. Some of the slaves received modern English education and reached higher social order as social reformers.[27]

It was also common to sell slaves to foreigners at that time. British missionaries Mead, Mart, Baily and Baker petitioned to the government demanding total abolition of slavery making slavery illegal, and giving property rights to former slaves. And finally the cruelty of slavery came to an end by the royal Proclamation of 1855.

In Cochin too, there were similar proclamations. Colonel Munro, who was Divan of Cochin from 1812-18, suppressed all taxes levied on slaves. Slave trade was declared illegal in 1821, and in 1854 all the slaves were declared free. As a matter of fact, abolition of slavery was a movement not of the depressed classes themselves or of the educated upper castes of Kerala; the former did not have the aspiration for it because they never knew what freedom was, the latter did not have the courage to launch a program like it even if they were convinced that slavery was immoral and inhuman. It was a movement for which the Christian missionaries were totally responsible. They had to exert immense pressure on the rulers of Kerala through the British Residents to bring it to an end. Despite proclamations of the rulers and efforts of the missionaries the social disease, of which slavery was a symptom, did not get cured. Although the depressed class was liberated from slavery, they became victims of prejudicial treatment and severe handicaps based on the caste. The treatment by the upper class just became more bitter. The lower castes did not have a street to walk, a temple to worship and a place to hide from the sight of the upper castes. It became worse than slavery. In slavery, they did not have the fear of being evicted until sold, and they maintained a minimum sense of security because they received some rice for subsistence. But in the liberated stage light offense was enough to arouse the anger of the upper castes on whom they totally depended for a day's job and its payment in kind, often unshelled rice. So it was natural for them to look for ways of further emancipation. Their religion kept them socially crippled. Whereas, conversion to Christianity generally complimented them with more social freedom. Moreover, the Christian missionaries offered their children free education. Nagam Aiya says:

> Continuance in their birth-religion means to them a continuance of their present degraded condition for all time to come. No wonder then that they have transferred their allegiance to the European missionary and his religion which has brought with it deliverance to them from the trammels of the old-world civilization.[28]

It is true that quite a number of *Izhavas*, *Pulayas*, *Parayas* and other lower classes accepted Christianity, an action stimulated by social pressure and missionary activities. But this did not offer a substantial solution to the problem; because whatever might be their social handicaps, it was not easy for tens of thousands of the backward classes to immediately transfer their age-old religious allegiance. Thus, efforts were mobilized to strengthen one's own caste or community in order to, first of all, withstand the pressure of the oppressing classes, and then to engage in strategic movements against them which would in turn achieve them freedom. During the second half of the nineteenth century, and nearly the first half of the twentieth century, it was an era of consolidation of castes, and unification of factions of the community in order to set agitations for equal opportunity and freedom. Almost all caste communities had achieved participation in these popular movements. Although some castes had its own organizations they did not endure long enough to witness the progress of these popular movements which they had championed for. But the organization which led the depressed classes towards freedom and later came to uplift them through the delivery of educational and social services was that of the *Izhavas*. Before we discuss the social and cultural impact of the organization of the *Izhavas*, a brief sketch of its background is illuminating.

(a) *The Malayali Sabha and the Malayali Memorial:*

A few students of the Maharajah's College in Trivandrum founded the "Malayali Social Union" in 1877 to perpetuate noble ideas like the dignity of physical work and to discuss the needs and problems of the community. In fact, this acted like a sounding board for the emerging educated community in the capital. This organization also received the encouragement of the college principal, Mr. Ross, and Professor Harvey, both Englishmen. Eventually, it was open to qualified members of the community; and lawyers, judges and other such professionals became its members. In 1886, the organization was renamed the "*Malayali Sabha*" with a set of objectives. Six out of seven objectives were of educational importance. They are:

1. To propagate western education among *Malayalis* by giving stipends to poor bright students.
2. To establish a hostel for those students who came to the capital for higher education.
3. To reform the schools.
4. To establish girls' schools for the spread of female education.
5. To open technical and industrial schools.
6. To publish pamphlets for the intellectual growth of the people.
7. And to do other things for the welfare and progress of *Malayalis*.[29]

As the first fruit of modern education *Malayali Sabha* began to create social awareness within a community and champion the cause of education. It was also the first social organization which came into existence with set goals and objectives as a result of English education in the history of Kerala. The *Sabha* also began to publish a newspaper in 1886 as its organ. Social, educational, and religious topics relevant to the society were discussed there. As a policy, it did not want to interfere with political issues. The *Sabha* was eager to embrace all the people of Kerala irrespective of religious preference; although the membership was basically composed of *Nayar* youths. It extended its activities in several towns in Travancore by establishing branches. Several schools were established by it. Although the royal family became patrons of the *Sabha*, the higher echelons of the government chiefly constituted of foreign Brahmans did not particularly like the surge of the *Malayalis*, chiefly because the *Sabha* was considering to press the Maharajah for fair and equal treatment of the citizens in employment practices of the government.

This was the time the *Sabha* slipped into politics. This was necessary because, the nepotism practised by the Divan, an appointee of the British government, provided all higher positions for his relatives or members of his caste, who were, of course, foreigners in Travancore. As the *Sabha* became involved in politics, its primary aims were forgotten. The *Sabha* found a strong inspiration for its activities in G. Paramesavaran Pillai, popularly known as G.P., who was in Madras, leading journalistic campaigns against the corruptions and nepotistic practices of the Travancore government. He was then leading a running crusade with his team of friends by contributing series of articles to the press with a *nom de plume, a lover of his country*.

> Political agitation as is commonly understood by the term began in Travancore with G. Paramesvaran Pillai, for it was he who for the first time carried on a regular crusade on constitutional lives, against the autocratic administration of the state, with unabated vigour and unflinching courage. His strenuous efforts made the people politically-minded and conscious of their inherent rights and responsibilities and for this reason, he may well be regarded as the Father of Political Agitation in Travancore.[30]

Dr. Palpu, an *Izhava* educated by Christian missionaries but never converted to Christianity, who had secured a Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery, and was denied job in Travancore, was in the Mysore Service during this period. He was also engaged in press campaigns against the Travancore government. G.P. and Dr. Palpu were some of the organizers of the famous *Malayali* Memorial of 1891. This Memorial submitted to the Maharaja high-lighted the fair share of the government for the citizens of Travancore in accordance with their education. This represented all the major communities in Travancore including the *Izhavas*. The Memorial accused the government of having refused admission to *Izhavas* in government schools and of neglecting to safeguard their rights. However, the reply to the Memorial said that *Izhavas* were quite satisfied with their traditional occupations like agriculture, toddy tapping and coir-manufacture; that they were not interested in higher education or government service and that they were included among the signatories to the Memorial in order to increase the numerical strength.[31]

In fact, Dr. Palpu, long before the Malayali Memorial, had been engaged in agitation by way of Memorials to the government as well as through newspaper columns, demanding that *Izhavas* should receive those rights which they would get if they had become Christians. Yet the government remained silent.

(b) An Organization for the Untouchable is Born:

To strengthen the Izhavas as a community Dr. Palpu decided to form an organization and he founded the *Travancore Izhava Sabha*. The *Izhavas* submitted a Memorial to the Divan in 1895 and another one to the Maharajah in 1896 under the leadership of Dr. Palpu. They pointed out the absence of encouragement by the government to foster education among the *Izhavas* and the denial of employment opportunities for the *Izhavas* in the government.

It was during this period Swami Vivekananda returned from his American visit and started his all-India tour with a view of reforming Hinduism. There was a guru among the *Izhavas* who was moving in the same direction. He was Swami Narayana (1854-1928) who had achieved his spiritual enlightenment after years of ascetic exercises. He was not only a reformer but also a savior of the depressed classes. This was an epoch which did not permit a member of lower caste to enter even the premises of a Hindu temple. Worship in the temple was totally denied to the low castes. Guru Narayana could not tolerate this discrimination. He had the courage to install a Siva idol and consecrate a temple at Aruvipuram despite the opposition of the Brahmans. The guru founded an association (Yogam) to carry on the affairs of the temple in 1898.

This period in Kerala is also characterized by the impact of other religious organizations like the Ramakrishna Mission, Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj engaged in the reformation of Hinduism. They should also have influenced the guru along with his contemporary, Swami Chattampi, a fellow Keralite belonging to the upper class.[32] The guru and Dr. Palpu were old friends and the former had a clear spiritual vision to solve the problems and the latter a militant social approach. Palpu was a product of modern education nurtured by the unselfish social service of the missionaries, and the guru was a product of traditional indigenous education moulded by Hindu asceticism. When both of them came to the field of social action, it was a most desirable blending of two humans. By this time, the famous poet laureate of Kerala, N. Kumaran Asan, also an *Izhava*, joined them. In a special session, the guru's *Yogam* accepted a new name, the Sri Narayama Dharma Paripalana Yogam (S.N.D.P.) with the objective of enhancing spiritual and secular education and of helping the economic prosperity of the *Izhavas*. "The combination of the holy swami, the efficient organizer Dr. Palpu and the hard-working Asan, made the Yogam well-known throughout Kerala. . ."[33]

Guru Narayana was a man of electrifying personality. Kerala had given birth to two great Hindu reformers. Sankaracharya of Kaladi, who lived in the eighth century A.D., was the first one; and the guru the second. When the unbeatable intellectual acumen of Sankaracharya placed Hinduism on metaphysical plain for the philosopher, the unartificial spiritual wisdom of Guru Narayana placed it on the plain of natural simplicity for the unsophisticated. Guru Narayana's messages were simple: strengthen yourself by organization and liberate yourself by education. His spiritual teachings can be synthesized in one sentence: For man, one race, one religion and one God. He regarded humanity as one race, the universal brotherhood of man as one religion; and the all-embracing Divinity, of which humanity is part and parcel, as one God.

Parenthetically, the Guru also influenced leaders of other backward classes in the organization of their communities.[34]

In fact, it was Guru Narayana's S.N.D.P. which championed the cause of all the depressed classes. The Guru himself went about establishing temples and schools.[35] Later the emphasis was on establishing schools, because he believed that God stays within a person and only education can illuminate a person and he, in turn, will be directed to God. The S.N.D.P. has now produced a number of political and social leaders during the last three quarters of this century. It is still a powerful leader in the social and education fields of Kerala. Two of the former chief ministers were *Izhavas* uplifted by S.N.D.P. The organization is one of the major agencies providing educational leadership in Kerala with several first grade, post-graduate and professional colleges and many schools. Nearly twenty percent of the college students in Kerala are educated in the S.N.D.P. colleges. Thus, the people who were enlightened by modern education liberated themselves and continue their services in perpetuating the same tradition of modern education creating admiration and prestige. Now the people S.N.D.P. represents are no more an untouchable class, but an emerging working class, an educated middle class and a sizable minority of economically upper class. Thanks to the Guru, Dr. Palpu and other dedicated men who toiled hard for economic and social liberation and educational enlightenment of a depressed but industrious people.

(c) A Survival Kit for the Nayars:

Nayars were the only community that was more adversely affected by the arrival of the Europeans. Their military culture began to disintegrate. When the *Kalaris* had no use most of them were closed. In fact it was the *Kalari* and its training that really made a *Nayar*. In those days *Nayar* was an honorific title given to a trained soldier; and as such he was respected by the community. It was considered a prestigious title by his community. When the *Nayar* race began to be stripped of its military traditions, it was also getting politically and socially weaker. The glory of *Nayar* military achievement thus became a mere memory. It was this time onwards *Nayar* men began to suffix their names with titles like *Nayar*, *Kurup* or *Panikkar* (military school teacher or a captain in the army), *Pillai* or *Menon* (scribes) and the like in order to retain emotional continuity of the glorious past.

The presence of the British actually reduced them powerless. Since the time of Martanda Varma, the eighteenth century prince of Travancore, the *Nayars* became politically and socially a weak community, although they boasted about their caste under the patronage of the *Nampudiris*. Being tax collectors or managers of temple and *Nampudiri* estates they had the opportunity to show their arrogance to the lower castes. Nevertheless, most of the *Nayars* were unemployed as they were no more needed in the military.

The *Nayar* community began to disintegrate on account of the following reasons: In the absence of the traditional career, most of the young men stayed home unproductive. It was very common for them to get into family quarrels which eventually took them to the newly installed judicial courts of the British. This process was wealth-consuming. Many families finally met with their destruction as a result of the judicial battles.[36]

As was the custom in Kerala the younger *Nampudiri* youths were not permitted to contract a Barahman marriage; they had to establish informal relationships with *Nayar* women to meet their sexual and psychological needs. The children of these relationships were denied right to their father's property and even their support while they grew. Thus it was an added burden to *Nayar* families to raise these children by providing them education, medical treatment, and so on. This led to the erosion of family wealth. Moreover, the *Nayars* were particularly interested in conducting various traditional celebrations connected with marriage, first menstruation and so on in the most pompous manner.[37] The financial pressure of these obligations prompted to sell most of the inherited land and other properties of the family to a growing middle class, especially of Christians who happened to be the first beneficiaries of modern education and its effects on economic mobility. Besides these debilitating economic factors, *Nayar* community also had to suffer "various inequalities in relation to castes that are above them, e.g., the Nambpodiris."[38]

The Syrian Christians of Kerala, engaged in agriculture and trade, began to emerge as a powerful middle class after the spread of modern education. They realized

> that landlordism in Kerala, tied up with joint family system, was not an impregnable fortress. With the help of liquid cash, that group of industrious, hard working and shrewd men could wind their way up in the economic sphere. Through banking, trade, commerce, chitties, kurries, printing presses, and such other lucrative business the middle class rose up in the ladder and then started asserting their rights. In the course of a few decades the Christian community became the most powerful community both in the political and economic sphere.[39]

Similarly, the *Izhavas* were on their way to assert their middle class status sooner or later as a result of modern education.

Being economically worn out and anxious to compete with emerging middle class communities, the *Nayars* began to launch some rescue efforts in their own behalf. The priority was set to vie with this new "status group based on education, income and occupation and not on caste or community."[40] It was this group, predominantly composed of Christians in the process of modernization, who helped the *Nayars* to open their eyes to realities such as, their exploitation by the *Nampudiris*, their outdated system of inheritance and succession, the need for economic and social uplift and so on.[41] It was the Christians that the *Nayars* had to basically compete with. For that they adopted the same measures which brought the Christians right on top. By this time *Nayar* youths were encouraged to get as much English education as they could like the Christians. The Christians were united under their hierarchical heads. The *Nayars* very well comprehended that the strength and progress of Christians were based on their organizational unity and leadership. The same growth and upward mobility were observed among the *Izhavas* who were also organized under the leadership of Guru Narayana.

Nayars began to found several local organizations called *Karayogas* in some areas and *Nayar Samajas* in other areas. The famous Hindu religious leader, Swami Chattampi, who had been preaching reformation of Hinduism, was a constant inspiration to the *Nayars*.[42] Some of the organizations were operating on Taluk levels. Finally the need for a statewide organization was felt by the Nayar leaders, and in 1914 *Nayar* Servants Society was founded.[43] Six months later the organization assumed a new name: "The Nayar Service Society." Mr. Padmanabhan Mannath became its first secretary. Ever since Mr. Mannath, a lawyer by profession and a social worker by vocation, worked for the Society until his death. His unequaled organizing capacity stimulated grassroots participation of the *Nayars* in the activities of the Society. Several branches (*Karayogas*) of the Society sprang up in the subsequent decades. Like the S.N.D.P. the Nayar Service Society also set their priorities on establishing schools. Their first school was started in 1915 at Karukachal; it was an English school. Through education, the Society found economic and social progress for the *Nayar* community.

Under the leadership of Mannath the *Nayar* community and the Society were progressing year by year achieving their set goals. The major contribution of the Society was in the field of education although the field of health also was a beneficiary of the Society. Even now the Society is an active agency of education. It is running several schools, and first grade, post-graduate and professional colleges, besides a few hospitals. The Society is equally powerful as the S.N.D.P.

Although the Nayar Service Society was founded as an organization of a privileged class, it was sympathetic towards the causes of the underprivileged, especially in the agitations which led to the Proclamation of Temple Entry in 1936. However the hidden motive was consolidation and unity of Hindus as a single community to withstand the powerful threat of Christians.

The tendency of caste consolidation did not just stay within the *Nayars* or the depressed classes. The *Nampudiris* also began to get organized as a community. The *Yoga Kshema Sabha* of the *Nampudiris* founded in North Kerala in 1909 championed the cause of Brahmans in encouraging modern English education and in reforming age-old *Nampudiri* practices. Although they were the most privileged class,

> Their system of the family, marriage, and inheritance was as outmoded as that of any other caste. It, therefore, raised various problems the solution of which was considered by the enlightened representatives of the community as necessary for their advancement.[44]

This organization encouraged widows to remarry and women to go for higher education.

The process of social upheaval was contagious during this period. The Muslims also felt the need of reformation and progress to become a viable community. They were the only community least affected by modern education. The Muslim clergy were opposed to any change whatsoever. It was at this time that Vakkom Maulavi (1872-1932), a Muslim leader, dedicated his life for the social progress of the Muslims. He pressed English education among the Muslims. The social revolution he launched among the Muslims brought forth cultural awareness and the need of establishing a self-asserted Muslim identity. The newspaper, *Muslim*, published by him, carried messages of Islam in particular, but suggested ways of enhancement in tune with modern education within the Islamic framework. He founded the *Travancore Muslim Mahajana Sabha* to spread his social revolution. Although there were Muslim upheavals in other parts of Kerala, especially in Malabar, they turned to the form of riots, hence cannot be legitimately called a social revolution for intellectual and cultural advancement.

Among all the class movements of this period, the Nayar Service Society is considered the most effective source of social and cultural inspiration as a counter organization to the Christian hierarchy and the *Izhava* S.N.D.P. Without the Nayar Service Society, the *Nayar* community would have been reduced to politically and socially the weakest majority of the state. The social wisdom and leadership genius of the late Mr. Padmanabhan Mannath, who designed a survival kit for the *Nayars*, will always inspire the generations to come in the areas of community action and social progress. At this point, it is insufficient to reduce the Society just as an agency for social progress of the *Nayars*. All the communities in Kerala are beneficiaries of its laudable efforts. An Innocent competition is always a healthy symptom of the progress of the entire society because it would move the various sections of the society towards the same direction.

(d) Towards Religious Equality:

Despite the social emancipation efforts of the various organizations, religious equality was not granted to the depressed classes. The *Izhavas* and other exterior castes had to pray and make offerings to the temple keeping a distance ranging from 50 to 100 yards away from the *Gopuram* (outer gates) of the temple. The British did not want to get into this conflict because it only pertained to one side of the social life. It could be reasonably concluded that their non-interference in this matter was not entirely without the touch of selfishness. We have already observed that the British were instrumental to promulgations of edicts related to the abolition of slavery and granting freedom in covering the upper part of the body. The same pressure would have motivated the native ruler to put an end to religious discrimination. However, they did not want to press the Maharajah for it. The British should be validly suspected that they were eager for this struggle to reach its climax so as to utilize it to their own advantage, i.e. a frustrated depressed community would seek conversion to Protestantism as a last resort.

Guru Narayana, the leader of the *Izhavas*, was never interested in an agitation to establish the rights of worship. Instead he was trying to found temples and Hindu congregations as a parallel Hindu religion. He consecrated temples like the *Brahmans* did. He trained *Izhava* youths for temple services and ordained them to be celebrants to lead the worship; which were conducted in Sanskritic traditions. This procedure kept the resources of *Izhavas* within their own institutions, besides establishing a religious identity for the *Izhavas*. This also helped the *Izhavas* to test their power in the society, especially in independent and positive action for themselves.

The notable movement in the form of an agitation against religious inequality took place only in 1924 when the *satyagraha* at Vaikom was staged.[45] This agitation was chiefly mobilized by the *Izhavas*; but were supported by *Nayar* leaders and political parties. T.K. Madhavan, C.V. Kunjuraman, Kelappan, M.K. Gandhi and Padmanabhan Mannath were some of its leaders. In fact, the agitation was not led against denial of worship by the low castes within the temple premises. It was for the right of the low castes to use the roads adjacent to the temple.[46] This was the first time Gandhi visited Kerala. In spite of the long agitation the right of the low castes was not granted.

Another notable incident in pursuit of obtaining equality in religion was the *satyagraha* in front of the Guruvayur Temple in 1932. Leaders of low castes as well as higher castes participated in this agitation. However the Zamorin of Calicut, under whose titular jurisdiction was the Temple, did not yield to the demands of the agitators.

The depressed class understood that the institution of caste perpetuated only inequality and injustice for the privilege of a few. They began to look for avenues through which they could attain their goals. There was talk about a mass conversion to Christianity. Some educated *Izhavas* thought about embracing a kind of rational Buddhism proposed by Dr. Ambedkar. In fact some did actually become Christians and Buddhists, although the latter were mainstreamed to Hinduism after the temple entry proclamation. During this period, the veteran statesman, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar became the Divan of Travancore. His intuition was great that he realized what would happen if the demands of the low castes were not met. The *Nayar* community leaders also warned him about the consequences; they did not want the Hindus to be reduced to a weak minority, because in Kerala the numerical strength of a religion controlled the power structure. Finally on the advice of the Divan, the Maharajah of Travancore issued a proclamation on November 12, 1936, permitting all the depressed classes to enter and worship in the temples controlled by him and his government.[47] In the absence of such a timely proclamation "a large number of people of the lower classes would have been converted to Christianity or Buddhism."[48]

Although the proclamation was received with admiration throughout India, the Raja of Cochin and the religious leaders in Malabar were insensitive to the issue. Therefore Kelappan, the celebrated Congress leader of Malabar and a disciple of Gandhi started a fast at the Guruvayur Temple, but nothing was achieved. It was after Independence, the Madras Legislature passed the Hindu Religious Disabilities Removal Act in 1947 which permitted all Hindus irrespective of caste admission into the temples. Cochin also opened its temples to the low castes in the meantime.

Thus came to an end the struggle for social freedom which was denied to a majority of the Kerala population for centuries. The process itself germinated as a result of enlightenment received from modern education and western ideals of equality and fraternity.

In the next section we will see how the democratic ideologies of western education caused the evolution of political awareness in the state of Kerala.

e. Evolution of Political Awareness and Nationalistic Movement:

The institution of monarchy had been considered sacred and unquestionable in Kerala. Whatever the king granted was a favor, because it was not considered a right. His privileges were only a few and only a very few selected minority received them. The subjects could not expect much from a king except that he was pleased with them. However, they had to pay him taxes and owed allegiance to him. In return they got nothing except his pleasure. The king and his minister appointed outsiders within the government in key positions to preclude the presence of the citizens in order to keep them safe without local intervention.

With western education the new intelligentsia began to think in terms of responsible government and democratic practices. The call for a corruptionless government sensitive to the needs and grievances of the citizens was evident in the *Malayali Memorial* organized by G.P. Pillai, Dr. Palpu and other community leaders. It was also a presentation of communal grievances. But in Kerala this memorial could be considered the conception of political awareness as a mass reaction to the policies of the Travancore government; although it was not the first petition in Kerala history.[49]

It was the English education which prepared the ground for such political actions.

> The propogation of the English language naturally facilitated the consolidation of national opinion and the free exchange of ideas. The great treasures of the west were opened to the people of this country, which undoubtedly accelerated intellectual growth and cultural development. It encouraged men to freely express their views on political activities and ideals. People became conscious of the fact that the evils from which they were suffering were the direct outcome of the political system under which they lived.[50]

Agitations for administrative and social reforms took the form of press campaigns on most occasions. *Madras Athanaeum, Indian Statesman, Calcutta Review* and others were some of the English periodicals which ran articles and letters connected with the socio-political conditions of Kerala. However, there were a few Malayalam periodicals which came into existence as a result of modern education, and promoted literacy and served the people in shaping their political ideas.

1. The Role of the Press

The first Malayalan journal in Kerala was *Vijnana Nikshepam* published by the C.M.S. missionaries from Kattayam in 1840. The second one, *Rajya Samacharam*, was published by Herman Gundert in 1847 from Tellicherry. It was *Kerala Patrika* published in 1884 which first began printing political matters in Kerala.[51] In 1864 an English magazine *Western Star* was published from Cochin along with a Malayalam edition, *Paschima Taraka*. There came up a dozen other journals in the same period, but all of them were short lived. Most of them were predominantly religious periodicals.

It was the *Kerala Patrika* published from Calicut in 1884 by Kunjurama Menon which encouraged the development of Malayalam language and literature.[52] During the same period appeared a few other periodicals including *Malayali* from Trivandrum and *Keraliya Sangama Bodhini*, the first women's journal in Kerala.

An important step in the development of press in Kerala took place when the *Nazarani Deepika* began publication in 1887 from Mannanam near Kottayam; and it is considered the oldest Malayalam daily newspaper in Kerala. This assumed a new name *Deepika* and began to be published from Kottayam since 1932. The daily has a circulation of 70,000 at present (1980). *Deepika* has been active in dealing with politics, literature and social issues.

Before the turn of the century there were over thirty periodicals in Kerala. Although they had only a short span of life, they served the people of Kerala in the areas of language and politics. Likewise there were half-a-dozen journals, predominantly literary magazines, after the dawn of the century. Eventually they also disappeared.

However, the impact of some of the major newspaper on socio-political conditions requires special treatment. Because they were chief tools of formulating political awareness among the people of Kerala.

(a) The Malayala Manorama:

Malayala Manorama was given birth by Kandathil Varughese Mappillai in 1890. It was first a weekly. It began to encourage young writers first. Its first editorial was on the education of the depressed classes.

In 1904, K.C. Mamman Mappillai took over the editorship of the newspaper. He nurtured it to become a journalistic institution with a mission. According to him the newspaper is a new weapon which is used for the extermination of corruption and injustice.[53] The newspaper actively supported the social causes and severely criticized governmental policies which infringed upon civil liberties. During the administration C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar in 1938 *Manorama's* throat was cut by the government for having created misunderstanding and promoted dissatisfaction against the government.[54] It was a great price the newspaper had to pay for being a champion of the people's cause; it gave its own life.

When India became free in 1947 *Manorama* resurrected and has ever become a major newspaper serving the people of Kerala. The contribution of *Manorama* for nearly a century to the shaping of a democratic society was great.

(b) Svadesabhimani:

Svadesabhimani was founded in 1906 by K. Ramkrishna Pillai (1878-1916). "He was the first journalist who sent a sense of devotion, sacrifice and adventure into the domain of Malayalam journalism."[55] He started his journalistic career even when he was a student. He was a courageous truth-loving writer. He became first the editor *Kerala Darpanam*, later the editor of *Malayali*, the organ of *Malayali Sabha*. When he was seriously involved in journalism the British government was about to strangle the press because of its support of the nationalistic movements. Henceforth, he became a leader of journalistic campaign for nationalistic movements. It was at this time he founded his own newspaper, *Svadesabhimani*.

Pillai began to oppose the press laws of the State, because he believed in the freedom of the press and freedom of speech. He vehemently attacked the antisocial policies of the government. Once when he was summoned to the court for "abusing" press privileges he defended himself:

> It is the duty of the press to bring to light the failures and corruption of the government . . . It is the duty of the journals to come forward to reveal the grievances of the oppressed classes. The reports must be general but must be specific and pointing to individual concerned. The first duty of the journalist at present is to crush the supporters of the status quo.[56]

At a time when the rights of the press were not freely approved, these were heroic words. For his brave criticism of the unjust and undemocratic policies of the government in 1910 he was exiled from Travancore. He died at the age of 38 in exile.

His life and career always manifested a vibrant political activity in Kerala in those days. He is considered the first Keralite who began to assimilate Marxian ideas in an era which totally anathematized and considered sacrilegious even to study Marxism. Even before the Bolshevik Revolution brought Russia under Communism, he had analyzed Marx. His book, *Karl Marx*, a biography, is the first book on Communism, published in 1912, in any Indian language.[57] With him, the Kerala middle class elites entered into the political arena. His deportation made strong impact on the national scene.[58]

(c) *Matrbhumi:*

The newspaper, *Matrbhumi*, was born at a critical juncture of the history of Kerala, at the height of nationalistic awareness, in 1923. The name denotes motherland. It was founded by a group of politicians, under the leadership of K.P. Kesavan Menon who had his higher education in England. From the very outset the paper was working for the nationalistic movement. Its goal was the independence of India. It was a friend of the depressed class, a fighter against social inequality and a sharp critic of the repressive policies of the government.

Like *Malayala Manorama, Matribhumi* also had to stop publication for awhile. One of its editors in the early 1940's was imprisoned under the Emergency Powers Act of the British government. Under the leadership of K.P. Kesava Menon, who was totally immersed in the activities of the freedom struggle, the newspaper enlightened the Keralites in matters of political freedom, social justice and patriotism. Its enormous services in promoting literacy and education are also laudable.

(d) *Kerala Kaumudi:*

It was first published from Quilon in 1911 by C.V. Kunjuraman. Later it was shifted to Trivandrum under the editorship of C. Kesavan, the first *Izhava* chief minister of Travancore-Cochin. This newspaper, being run by the leaders of *Izhava* community, naturally became a strong critic of the discriminating policies of the government, and eventually supporter of the nationalistic movement. When Travancore became a political battlefield in the 1930's during the tyrannical administration of C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar, its editor, C. Kesavan was jailed, and in 1938 its publication was also suppressed. The newspaper regained its license in 1940; and keeps on serving the state since then.

Although there were several other journals and newspapers which shaped the political consciousness of Keralites, these journalistic institutions had been unique in their services to the people. All of their efforts reflect how much they have been imbued with democratic ideals transmitted by Western education. Without the press, there would not have been a popular movement toward creation of a political mind. Although it was English education that sowed the seeds of nationalism, it was the press that fomented it among the people. The press was also instrumental in eliminating illiteracy by promoting curiosity. Kerala's greater number of journalistic publications[59] are indicative of their strong influence among the citizens. Even now, they keep the people actively interested in politics in addition to their role in social and literacy education.

2. *An Overview of Popular Movements*

It was in Malabar that popular movements with political motives had started first. It was an extension of the activities of the Indian National Congress founded in 1885 in Bombay. The initial purpose of the Congress was to advise the British government about Indian affairs. Leaders of Malabar were active in the Congress since 1897. An all-India Conference of the Congress was held in 1903 at Calicut and since then there was a District Committee of the Congress in Malabar.[60] In 1916 a Committee of the Home Rule League founded by Annie Besant was established in Malabar. Home Rule Leagues were later established all over Malabar. In 1920, under the auspices of the Congress, the Malabar District Political Conference was held at Manjeri. With that Congress was accepted as a democratic-political organization in Malabar. By 1919 a District Congress Committee came into existence in Cochin, but it was only in 1938 that Cochin as a state endorsed the Congress as a political party.

Much earlier there erupted an agitation under the leadership of Changanacherry Paramesvaran Pillai for a legislature in Travancore. Thus the first legislature in any of the Indian states was created in Travancore with eight members in 1888. Later in 1898 the membership was enlarged. But there was no popular representation in this Legislative Council. Hence the educated class extended their agitation for a popular legislature and finally the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly was established. However this assembly had no legislative power. It was during this time Svadesabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai demanded for responsible government on democratic principles. However, it was only in 1922 that a few reforms were adopted for the Legislative Council. Accordingly the number of members was raised to 50.

By this time, in 1920, Travancore accepted the Indian National Congress as an ally in the cause of freedom and supported it in its civil disobedience and non-cooperation. In 1931 the younger generation in Travancore founded the *Youth League*. In Travancore the period of political agitations to last for over a decade was set in motion at this time. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar became an advisor to the Maharajah and a repressive era in Travancore began with his appointment. However, political goals were being defined on account of his autocratic policies. On the advice of C.P.R. Ayyar Legislative Reforms Act was passed and it established two houses of the legislature. It was also decided to organize the legislature on the basis of a wider franchise with wider powers. But there was no sufficient representation for the minorities.[61] As a result, the Congress organized under a coalition party to boycott the elections and to dissuade the electorate from voting. This is popularly called *Nivarthanam* or abstention agitation.

In 1936, C.P.R. Ayyar became the Divan. The Coalition Party was still continuing its agitation. Finally, as a political party, its candidates ran for membership in the legislature, and they won the majority of seats in the legislature.

In 1938, the Travancore State Congress was founded under the leadership of some of the Coalition Party members because the Indian National Congress had resolved not to interfere with the affairs of the native states. In fact these leaders were demanding for the abolition of the princely states. Later in the same year, the entire Coalition Party was absorbed into the State Congress; and the Travancore National Congress was dissolved. C.P.R. Ayyar was aware of the political plans of the new party. He knew he was going to face constant agitations led by the State Congress. Hence he induced Padmanabhan Mannath and the Nayar Service Society to form another party in order to weaken the State Congress. They created the Travancore National Congress.

However, when the State Congress set its agitations against the government, and the Travancore National Congress was ineffective to render adequate support to the Divan, he started to suppress the former with police intervention. Its leaders were arrested. During this period all the major newspapers and banks were closed by the Divan, either because the bank owners were associated with State Congress or their papers openly supported the agitators. The Divan's oppressive regime ended in 1947, four days after India became free. In the same year in September adult franchise was established by the Maharajah as the first step towards responsible government; and on March 24, 1948 the first democratic ministry in Travancore took charge of the government.

In 1949 Travancore and Cochin were united as a single state. Kerala, comprising Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, came into being only in 1956. The Communist Party was not strong in Travancore or Cochin; but when Malabar was annexed to them in order to form the State of Kerala, the first election after that elected a majority of Communist candidates to the legislature. It was in Malabar that Communist Party obtained its foothold.

In 1934 the Malabar Congress Party was split into two. One became a socialist party, which eventually became the Communist Party in 1940 under the leadership of E.M.S. Nampudiripad. Ever since it was growing rapidly due to socio-economic conditions peculiar to Malabar.[62] The influence of the Malabar Communist Party was enormous on the working class in Travancore. But C.P.R. Ayyar tyrannically suppressed it and declared it illegal along with the State Congress and the Youth League.

It was really Malabar that elected the majority of Communist candidates to the Assembly in the election immediately followed the formation of Kerala. Thus, for the first time in the political history of any nation, a Communist government, under the leadership of E.M.S. Nampudiripad, came into power through democratic process.

It took almost a century for Kerala to travel from social disability through inequality, injustice and political oppression and to finally reach social equality and justice and democracy. Agitations after agitations, it was a long way; but modern education prepared the mind and intellect of the people to move ahead with vigor, courage and confidence. The press, an invention of modern education, inspired them with democratic principles. The English language itself became a vehicle for nationwide exchange of ideas.

F. Conclusion

Our contention is that the social changes taken place in Kerala are the immediate results of the spread of modern education. The presence and inspiration of the British missionaries had influenced the people to look at their own social systems. The major changes were in the area of attitude of the people. Their attitude to the concept of the role of women began to change; hence, along with the missionaries, they worked to better the condition of women by spreading education.

Similarly, their attitude towards the downtrodden classes began to change. It was difficult to accept them as equals. But education and western culture began to condition their minds for it. So it was necessary to not only educate them, but also to help lift the social disabilities and inequalities. It was also necessary to educate them to accept the new responsibility in the society; and to motivate them to be benefited by education and then become productive in the society.

The same is true with female education. For centuries women had been held inferior. It would take a long time to convince them the need for education. May be, it was easy for an educated female or an educated member of the depressed caste to motivate the next one in line towards education. It was the process of education begetting education — an ongoing process.

It is not enough to think that the government had offered all the facilities, and so education reached its people. No government can educate its people unless the people are ready for it. Money and textbooks would not conduct education. Only an educated person can prepare another person for education. It is a serial action. This was especially true with the backward classes. They were a people who had no interest in education. It was their first educated brethren who motivated the rest of them towards education.

It was after receiving an education many of the depressed classes realized their own conditions. The educated among them gave their community leadership to fight for their rights and privileges. In the initial stages they had received help from British political authorities and missionaries; but later they themselves came to the forefront to vindicate their rights. The depressed classes gained their demands of social and religious equality. As we know, it did not take place by violence or force. Naturally the grantor must have changed his value system to yield to the demands of the grantee. The social changes in Kerala took place on the basis of adopted values. The upper class, whether the Maharajah or the nobility, absorbed these values from modern education. It was a corporate action.

The absorption of new values and the formation of a new society led them to political awareness which of course took the form of agitations. Often they were peaceful demonstrations. And finally they achieved their goal: political freedom and responsible government.

The power house was modern education which supplied western values of freedom, equality, and democracy, and the power lines were the eternal values of non-violence and truth which were indigenous. This does not mean that Indian culture was devoid of democratic principles. But they did not inspire the masses in Kerala for positive action toward social equality and political emancipation. The people had to wait for another source of enlightenment until the nineteenth century.

Notes

[1] Sindhu Phadke, "Special Problems of the Education of Women," in Gore et al., ed., *Sociology of Education in India* (New Delhi: NCERT, 1967), p. 176.

[2] T.K. Velu Pillai, *The Travancore State Manual* Vol. III (Trivandrum: The Government of Travancore, 1940), p. 692.

[3] Ibid., p. 693.

[4] Ibid., p. 695.

[5] Ibid., p. 696.

[6] *Census of India*, Vol. XX, *Cochin Part I* (Ernakulam: The Cochin Government Press, 1903), p. 101.

[7] M.J. Koshy, *Genesis of Political Consciousness in Kerala* (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1972), p. 18.

[8] C.A. Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers: Malabar and Anjengo* (Madras: The Government Press, 1908, reprint 1915), p. 284.

[9] Sindhu Phadke, p. 183.

[10] T.K. Velu Pillai, p. 735.

[11] Ibid., p. 736.

[12] P.K. Balakrishnan, *Narayanguru* (Kottayam: S.PC. Society, 1954, rev. ed. 1959), pp. 59-60.

[13] T.K. Velu Pillai, p. 737.

[14] *Census of India, 1931, vol. XXI, Cochin, Parts I and II* (Ernakulam: The Cochin Government Press, 1933), pp. 194-195.

[15] *Izhavas* are called *Thiyas* in Malabar.

[16] C.A. Innes, *Madras District Gazetteers, Malabar*, vol. I (Madras: The Government Press, 1908, reprint 1951), p. 300.

[17] The word *decastification* is coined from the Portuguese/Spanish stem *casta* for caste. This coinage signifies the process by which the rigidities of caste system are losing importance as its supporting structures are being shattered.

[18] A. Aiyappan, *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 8-9.

[19] K.C. Alexander, *Social Mobility in Kerala* (Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1968), pp. 172-175.

[20] P.A. Seyd Muhammad, ed., *Kerala Charithram* (Malayalam, Compilation of Kera History) vol. II (Ernakulam: The Kera History Association, 1974), p. 161.

[21] T.K. Velu Pillai, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, pp. 535.

[22] P.S. Raghaven, ed., *The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, vol. I (Trivandrum: The Government Press, 1970), p. 56.

[23] P.A. Seyd Muhammad, p. 153.

[24] Ibid., p. 153.

[25] William Logan, *Manual of the Malabar District* (Madras: The Government Press, 1906), p. 151.

[26] K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *A Short History of Kerala* (Ernakulam: Pai and Company, 1966), p. 148.

[27] P.A. Seyd Muhammad, p. 75.

[28] V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. II (Trivandrum: The Travancore Government Press, 1906), p. 115.

[29] P.K. Paramesvaran Nair, *Nair Service Society Charithram* (Malayalam: History of Nayar Service Society), vol. I (Changanacherry: Nair Service Society, 1972), p. 88.

[30] M.J. Koshy, pp. 27-28.

[31] P.K. Balakrishnan, p. 49.

[32] R. Ramakrishnan Nair, *Social Structure and Political Development in Kerala* (Trivandrum: The Kerala Academy of Political Science, 1976), p. 16.

[33] E.M.S. Nampoodripad, *The National Question in Kerala* (Bombay: People's Publishing House, 1952), p. 101.

[34] R. Ramakrishnan Nair, p. 17.

[35] P.K. Balakrishnan, p. 303.

[36] R. Ramakrishnan Nair, p. 5.

[37] P.K. Paramesvaran Nair, p. 84.

[38] E.M.S. Namboodripad, p. 101.

[39] R. Ramakrishnan Nair, p. 10.

[40] Ibid., p. 5.

[41] Ibid.

[42] P.K. Paramesvaran Nair, p. 137.

[43] Ibid., p. 154.

[44] E.M.S. Namboodripad, p. 102.

[45] *Satyagraha* literally means "holding of truth," but it is the non-violent form of agitation chiefly adhering to the principle of civil disobedience. It is the deliberate violation of laws that are unjust and voluntary submission to punishment for breaking those laws, as proposed by M.K. Gandhi, the leader of Indian freedom struggle.

[46] K. Balachandran Nayar, ed., *In Quest of Kerala*, vol. I (Trivandrum: Accent Publications, 1974), p. 124.

[47] T.K. Velu Pillai, p. 767.

[48] R. Ramachandran Nair, p. 19.

[49] A petition was submitted to the Cochin Government in 1854.

[50] P.S. Raghavan, p. 75.

[51] P.A. Seyd Muhammad, p. 771.

[52] K. Balachandran Nayar, p. 158.

[53] Ibid., p. 162.

[54] Ibid., p. 163.

[55] Ibid., p. 160.

[56] Ibid., p. 161.

[57] E.M.S. Namboodripad, p. 114.

[58] *Svadesabhimani* means "the one who is proud of his country." Ramakrishna Pillai was generally known as Svadesabhimani.

[59] There are 48 daily newspapers, 24 bi-weeklies, 52 weeklies, and 138 monthlies in Kerala (1973).

[60] K.V. Krishna Ayyar, p. 183.

[61] Mammen Varghese, ed., *Manorama Yearbook 1980* (Kottayam: Malayala Manorama Co. Ltd., 1980), p. 601.

[62] E.M.S. Namboodripad, p. 149.

GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

1. *Adiyara:*	An additional tax for a privilege/right under the monarchy.
2. *Brahman:*	A person belonging to the upper caste of priests.
3. *Divan:*	Chief Minister under a monarch.
4. *Ezhuthupalli:*	A preprimary education system prevalent in some regions of Kerala emphasizing cultivation of language and arithmetic skills.
5. *Guru:*	Master

6. *Harijans:*	A term coined by the late M.K. Gandhi to represent all untouchables in India (literally: people of God).
7. *Izhavas:*	A majority of backward community in Kerala, considered untouchable by caste Hindus.
8. *Kalari:*	A school of martial arts for training soldiers and amateurs.
9. *Karayogam:*	Gathering of people of a ward (in a village).
10. *Kerala:*	The present state of Kerala in India, previously divided into three regions: Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.
11. *Kuravan:*	A person belonging to one of the untouchable subcastes.
12. *Maharaja:*	The title of the local monarch (literally: the great king).
13. *Malayali:*	A Malayalam (language of Kerala) speaking person, i.e., a Keralite.
14. *Nampudiri:*	Another name for a person of the priestly (Brahman) caste in Kerala.
15. *Nayar:*	Warrior caste in Kerala.
16. *Paraya:*	A person belonging to one of the untouchable subcastes.
17. *Pulaya:*	A person belonging to one of the untouchable subcastes.
18. *Sabha:*	Association, Organization.
19. *Samaja:*	Gathering.
20. *Siva:*	One of the incarnations of the Hindu god, Brahma.
21. *Taluk:*	A constituting unit of a revenue district.
22. *Tippu Sultan:*	The ruler of Mysore at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.
23. *Zamorin:*	Title of the monarch of Calicut.

The Memorandum of 1839: An Early Revolution in South African Education

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The establishment of an Education Department and the creation of the post of General Superintendent of Public Education in colonial South Africa has been seen by educational historians as both "an event pregnant with rich consequences for the future of educational development in South Africa"[1] and "probably the greatest single step in the process of educational control" in the country.[2] The Government Memorandum of 23 May 1839, which represents the culmination of several years of effort by four individuals (Colonel John Bell, John Fairbairn, Sir John Herschel, and Sir George Napier), embodied and reflected a great deal of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Enlightenment thought. Its prescriptions for public education, implemented with the appointment of James Rose-Innes as the first General Superintendent of Public Education, were among the first such reforms attempted anywhere in the world.[3] This is especially interesting when one considers how very much a cultural backwater South Africa was during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In this paper, the historical role of the Memorandum of 1839, and the educational reforms which its implementation entailed, will be explored. We will begin with an historical overview of education in Cape Colony during the early nineteenth century, with emphasis on the Anglicization policies of Lord Charles Somerset. Next, the evolution of the Memorandum itself, during the years 1836 to 1839, will be discussed. Last, the implications of the Memorandum for future education in South Africa will be analyzed and evaluated.

The Historical Setting

Great Britain invaded and took control of the Cape of Good Hope in January 1806, occupying the colony for the second time. Unlike the earlier occupation, which had lasted from 1795 until 1803, this time the British had come to stay — an intention formalized by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, following the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe.[4] A policy of Anglicization rapidly came to mark the ascendency of British power in South Africa, in spite of a greater than eight-to-one population ratio in favor of the Dutch colonists.[5] This policy, which had as its central concern the replacement of Dutch with English throughout the colony, touched nearly all aspects of public life:

> That the British authorities saw the importance of language is apparent from the steps periodically taken to compell the public use of English. They applied pressure first in the schools; they extended it by proclamation to the courts from the late 1820s onwards; in 1853 they made English the

> exclusive language of Parliament . . .[6]

Further, the image of the Boers held by their British overlords was a far from favorable one. Although respectful of their industry and "kind disposition,"[7] the British newcomers were critical of much having to do with the Dutch settlers, including their farming methods, their lack of "polite" manners, and the "antediluvian survival" which was their language.[8] It is worth noting that this "intellectually poor patois that was incapable of expressing the higher abstractions or of defining thoughts with accurate shades and distinctions of meaning,"[9] as Afrikaans was described, was to prove a major source of pride and unity for the Afrikaner community in the years ahead. Indeed, its rejection was one of the causes of Boer hostility to the British. As Malherbe notes,

> There is ample evidence . . . that on no occasion — even in the later Dutch Republics — was the Boer against acquiring the English language as such. On the contrary, it was considered a mark of culture and education to be able to speak English. . . .
>
> When, however, to learn the English language meant to the Boer the exclusion of his own mother-tongue as a medium, his hostility was at once aroused . . .[10]

Sir John Cradock, who served as Governor of Cape Colony from 1811 to 1814, was the first of the British administrators to consider seriously the problem of education, and to attempt to institute significant change.[11] Reacting to an 1811 report on the poor condition of schooling at the Cape, which had been prepared by the Chief Justice, Cradock sought to restore the teaching profession to the venerable heights from which he believed it had fallen. He tried to accomplish this through two sorts of reform. First, the old Commission of Scholarchs, a hold-over from the days of the Dutch East India Company, was replaced in 1813 by the Bible and School Commission.[12] The new Commission was intended to exercise control over all government-supported schools throughout the colony, and began its activities quite energetically.[13] In two sets of regulations, issued in 1827 and 1834, the Bible and School Commission sought to specify and delimit the duties of local school bodies. The most notable change in the regulations was the inclusion, in the regulations of 1834, of the recognition of the need for instruction to be given in Dutch where so desired by parents.[14] The effects of these regulations, and of the Commission itself, seem to have been minimal; the Commission actually had little authority of its own, and even less power of enforcement, and where it chose to diverge from the government's policy of Anglicization (as in the regulations of 1834), the government tended to ignore it.[15] Indeed, by 1837 it is clear that:

> . . . the Government paid little regard to the Bible and School Commission, and simply went straight ahead in carrying out its anglicising policy.[16]

The second of Cradock's educational reforms was the establishment of *kosterscholen* (Church-clerk schools) in the chief towns of the Cape. Cradock undoubtedly hoped to make use of the high prestige of the church, with which such schools were to be affiliated,[17] but in this expectation he was somewhat disappointed.[18] Cradock's efforts remain noteworthy, however, for both his sincere efforts to provide free education for the lower classes in the colony (inspired, no doubt, by the reforms of Bell and Lancaster in Britain),[19] and for the expansion of schooling generally throughout the Cape.

Cradock was succeeded as Governor by Lord Charles Somerset, whose régime (1814-1826) may well have been among the most controversial in South African history.[20] Somerset is best known in educational history for his fervent efforts both at increasing the number of British settlers in South Africa and for his stepped-up support for Anglicization.[21] His concern with the former reached its peak with the arrival, beginning in March of 1820, of some 5,000 British colonists enticed to South Africa with promises of land (100 acres per man on quit-rent payable after several years)[22] and encouraged by Parliamentary support of some £50,000.[23] As Davenport has noted,

> . . . the 1820 Settlement was part of the British attempt to convert the Cape into a British colony in spirit as well as in law.[24]

Even with the influx of the 1820 settlers, however, the British remained a small minority of the European community in South Africa, and this made necessary a variety of legal and extralegal safeguards for the continued dominance of the English language and English institutions in the colony. The British position toward the Boers and their culture was summarized by the South African historian George Theal:

> They [the Boers] were only a little over thirty thousand in number, and it seemed absurd that such a small body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and customs that were not English in a country that had become part of the British Empire.[25]

This commitment to Anglicization was formalized by Lord Charles Somerset in a Proclamation issued on 5 July 1822, which fixed dates from which only English might be used in all official documents (1 January 1825) and in proceedings in courts of law (1 January 1827).[26] Further, Somerset sought to strengthen the British character of the colony through both religious and educational institutions. Vacant pulpits in the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) were filled by the government with young Scottish clerics.[27] Indeed, by 1837 twelve of the total twenty-two NGK ministers were of Scottish extraction,[28] and the overall quality of these young men seems to have been quite high.[29] Just as ministers were imported from Scotland, so too were teachers brought from that distant land. In 1822, Somerset brought six teachers to South Africa, and established a number of English Free Schools in the major centers of the colony.[30] These Free Schools were, interestingly enough, established independent of the Bible and School Commission, and show clearly the declining authority and importance of that body.[31]

The response of the Boers to this policy of Anglicization was, on virtually all accounts, relatively mild — though it was with Lord Somerset's policies that Afrikaner nationalism might be said to have begun its gradual development.[32] In short,

> The [Dutch] Colonists offered no opposition in principle when Somerset's language laws . . . were promulgated in 1822, nor when they were put into full operation in 1828. Even less did these laws cause bitter dissatisfaction and indignation. . . . There was indulgence and tolerance on the part of the Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants.[33]

It was, as du Toit and Giliomee comment, only in retrospect that the policy would become "a burning grievance."[34]

Although Somerset's Anglicization policy did not quite "strike at the heart of Afrikanerdom" as has sometimes been claimed,[35] there can be little doubt that the policies *did* alienate a sizable part of the Afrikaner community. While it is unlikely that this policy had any significant bearing on the Great Trek,[36] it is also the case that the Boers did not "just thr[ow] up the sponge and meekly accept[] an anglicizing policy."[37] As Malherbe notes,

> As a means of altering the language of the great body of Europeans in the country, these measures were an utter failure. In truth, they operated in the contrary direction, for hundreds of parents who otherwise would have had their children taught English now refused to do so . . .[38]

The resistance of parents to having their children educated in the English-language Free Schools can be seen in the relative success of government Free Schools and private, Dutch-medium schools (the most prominent of which was the *Tot Nut van 't Algemeen*)[39] between the years 1820 and 1840. As Figures 1 and 2 clearly show, from the government's point of view the policy of Anglicization must be seen as a failure.

The Evolution of the Memorandum of 1839

It was in this atmosphere of veritable educational disaster that Governor Benjamin D'Urban, contemplating a reform of public education in the Cape,[40] requested that the Secretary of the Cape Government, Colonel John Bell, prepare an exhaustive report on the condition of education in the colony.[41] The report, submitted as a Memorandum on 28 August 1827,[42] was quite critical of the activities of the Bible and School Commission, and one of its principal recommendations was that this body be abolished.[43] In its place, Colonel Bell suggested the appointment of a "sound, clear-headed man, either not belonging to the ministry or so untinctured with the prejudices in favour of this or that form of the

Christian Protestant Faith, as to constitute him an impartial Director of the Public Schools in the Colony."[44]

Colonel Bell's Memorandum considered a number of other significant issues as well. He was deeply concerned with the related problems of the generally low quality of teachers and of the prejudice toward and low social status of the teaching profession in the colony.[45] He also displayed a remarkable sensitivity to the "language question" in the schools of the Cape. Although supportive of the government's policy of Anglicization, Colonel Bell nonetheless recognized that in practice the policy had created a number of serious problems. He argued not only that "some knowledge of the latter language [Dutch] was absolutely necessary" in the Cape, but that "an indispensible qualification in the new teachers was . . . a knowledge of this language — however much it might increase the difficulty of procuring them."[46]

Shortly after the preparation of Colonel Bell's Memorandum, D'Urban was succeeded as Governor by Sir George Napier, who saw in the Memorandum an excellent opportunity for making an important and lasting contribution to the good of Cape Colony.[47] Temporarily residing at the Cape at this time was the noted English astronomer, Sir John Herschel, who was engaged in surveying the sidereal heavens of the southern hemisphere (work for which he was to become much renowned).[48] It was to this talented and versatile individual that Napier instructed Colonel Bell to submit his Memorandum for comment.[49]

Herschel proved to be an excellent choice, both for his insightful suggestions[50] and for the weight which his opinions proved to have with the authorities in Britain.[51] He responded to Colonel Bell's Memorandum in two letters, one (of 17 February 1838) addressed to Colonel Bell himself, the other (of 6 March 1838) addressed to Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the British government.[52] Since the contents of both letters were to have important consequences for the development of education in South Africa, a brief account of their contents is appropriate here.[53]

In his 17 February letter to Colonel Bell, Herschel begins by affirming that, in his view, "Education of the people is . . . a branch of the duties of a Government."[54] This is a subject to which Herschel referred in his public lectures at the Cape, since it was his contention that:

> . . . the advance of a Nation's intelligence, or of a Nation's fame did not depend upon a few successful philosophers toiling in their lonely studies, and gathering great reputations for their learning or their discoveries, but that a Nation's progress rather lay in the diffusion of their knowledge among the masses of the people.[55]

It should be noted that this was a far from universally agreed-upon view of the role of government, and that at this time only Prussia had actually established such a system of State education (though several U.S. states were soon to follow).[56]

Herschel continues by noting that for such a State educational system to be most efficient and well-organized, it is necessary that "the central responsibility should be lodged in one individual."[57] This individual, already designated in Colonel Bell's Memorandum as the "Director of Public Schools" in the colony, would on Herschel's account have a number of clearly specified responsibilities. First, he should "be in direct communication with and supported in the execution of his duty by the Government."[58] That is, he was to be the representative of the State and the guardian of the State's interests. Further, all the schools of the colony were to be visited during normal school days by the Director. As Herschel commented,

> . . . I should think it highly desirable, or rather indispensible that he [the Director] should visit personally at least the most important [Herschel's correction to manuscript: That is wrong, all in so limited a number should be visited personally] . . . at *uncertain* but not too distant intervals (say annually, but not at fixed seasons).[59]

Next, Herschel attends to one of the more central issues which must be addressed in any system of State education: finance. He begins his discussion of this topic by arguing that:

> To make any impression at all, the Colonial Government must be prepared for a liberal expenditure. It appears by the 'Memorandum' before me [that of Colonel Bell] that the estimation in which 'the Schoolmaster' is held by the Colonists, & especially the Boers has been, from divers causes, unhappily lowered. It has therefore not to be merely maintained, but *raised* from its present degradation.[60]

Here we see the two concerns which had plagued much of public education in the Cape up to this point — that of proper funding, and that of the poor quality and reputation of the teaching force. Herschel and Bell agreed on the solution to the first, as would most contemporary educators: more money was needed. The solutions that they devised to the second problem, however, differed somewhat. Indeed, it is primarily on this point that Colonel Bell's Memorandum and the letters of Herschel seem to diverge. Both saw more fitting (that is, higher) remuneration for teachers as a necessary step to improving the quality and status of teachers at the Cape. Herschel went so far as to note that, "It is to the extreme lowness of the salaries . . . that I am disposed to attribute the effect complained of, quite as much as to the disreputable conduct of individuals there alluded to."[61] Bell, however, had originally proposed that the teaching profession be used as a "stepping stone to the ministry" as a way of improving the status of teaching as a profession.[62] Herschel objected to this suggestion vehemently, noting that the plan was "open to serious objections, the chief of which [was] its tendency to perpetuate a line of religious demarcation . . . in the colony with the obnoxious feature of national distinction superadded."[63] These objections, coupled with similar concerns of Sir George Napier and John Fairbairn, led Bell to retract this suggestion, which he did in a letter to Herschel on 20 February 1838.[64] No further mention of it appears to have been made during the evolution of the Memorandum of 1839.

Herschel's second letter, dated 6 March 1838 and sent to Lord Glenelg,[65] contains two significant features. First, Herschel outlines the four "objects," or general aims, of education as he sees them. These four aims, from "the lowest to the highest," are:

> 1st. To form in the individual advantageous personal habits.
>
> 2nd. To store his mind with useful knowledge, and practical maxims available for the demands of active life.
>
> 3rd. To enlarge the powers and capacities of his mind, and to elevate his propensities, by familiarising him with trains of connected and serious thought and with high examples of moral and intellectual conduct.
>
> 4th. To form good citizens and men, by instructing them in the relations of civil and social life; and so fit them for a higher state of existence, by teaching them those which connect them with their Maker and Redeemer.[66]

These aims of education, clearly reflective of faculty psychology and typical of enlightened educational thought of the period, were apparently considered cogent and compelling enough by both Lord Glenelg and Sir George Napier to be included verbatim in the final version of the Memorandum of 1839.[67]

It was in this second letter that Herschel briefly addressed the "language question" as well. Although neither as knowledgeable nor as sympathetic as had been Colonel Bell, he nontheless recognized that there might be certain pedagogical advantages to a liberal language policy at least during the course of elementary instruction:

> [In acquiring the first rudiments of knowledge,] Some systems of communication are more, some less convenient and expeditious; but the most explanatory is best.[68]

This liberal approach to the "language question," however, applied only to elementary instruction. Herschel was clear that "All . . . should be taught English grammatically, as the language of their country, and as that in which instruction will be orally conveyed to them in a more advanced stage."[69] As he had written in a letter to the Reverend Dr. J. Adamson on 21 November 1835,

> Considering also that this [Cape Colony] *is* and for centuries to come will, in all human probability *remain* a British possession — that communications with Britain are constant and increasing — British Settlers flowing in

> yearly — British institutions multiplying — and British habits gaining ground I should conceive that *Caeteris paribus*, so far as can be done without sacrificing which is more important, a preference should be given to the English language as the medium of oral communication; and in the choice of elementary books.[70]

The limits on toleration were, then, clear. The child's first language might be used initially, but its use was to be kept to a minimum, only to help speed him on to fluency in English. In short, the language was to be used only in what today would be called a "transitional" fashion.[71]

If, as some historians have argued, Herschel's contributions to the Memorandum of 1839 have been greatly exaggerated, and are really little more, for the most part, than echoes of Bell's earlier work,[72] such is clearly not the case with John Fairbairn.[73] Fairbairn was the editor of the *South African Commercial Advisor*, and a former Cape Town schoolmaster as well.[74] He is probably best known in South African history for his defense of freedom of the press during the autocratic regime of Lord Somerset (indeed, it was in part his conflict with Fairbairn that led to Somerset's downfall),[75] but his contribution to the educational development of South Africa was at least as significant for the future of the colony.[76] On 19 February 1838 Fairbairn submitted a "Memorandum for the Advancement of Education at the Cape" to Sir George Napier.[77] In this Memorandum, Fairbairn discussed the duties and qualifications of the new Commissioner of Education. Fairbairn's emphasis on the high professional fitness required by the individual occupying this post had an important impact on the policy which eventually emerged.[78] It was, in fact, far more Fairbairn's contribution that that of either Bell or Herschel which led to the conceptualization of the position of Superintendent as one of a *professional educator*.[79]

In March of 1838, the proposals of Bell, Herschel and Fairbairn were submitted to Lord Glenelg in London.[80] Lord Glenelg was favorably impressed with the proposals, and wrote Napier that:

> I have read with much interest the papers transmitted in your dispatch, especially that written by Sir J. Herschel, to whom I feel greatly indebted for the valuable suggestions which he has contributed . . . Having every reason to believe that the outline of the plan proposed in these papers is well adapted to promote the important object in view, I am happy to be able to convey to you the sanction of Her Majesty's Government to the expenditure requisite for its immediate commencement . . .[81]

The stage was now set for the release, on 23 May 1839, of the Government Memorandum which was so profoundly to affect the future of South African education.

The Memorandum of 1839

The Memorandum of 1839 is, on virtually all accounts, a remarkable

document. Issued only two years after Horace Mann became Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, and devised and implemented in a distant and little-known corner of the world, whose importance to the British Empire was not so much colonial as strategic (positioned as it was midway between Great Britain, India and Australasia), the Memorandum was one of the most progressive and enlightened attempts at educational reform anywhere in the western world. Its evolution in the competent hands of Bell, Herschel, Fairbairn and Napier has already been discussed; we now turn to an analysis of the Memorandum in its final form.

The Memorandum was unbending in its insistence on education as a function and duty of the State. A central object of education, as had earlier been suggested by Herschel,[82] was:

> To form good citizens and men, by instructing them in the relations of social and civil life . . .[83]

As a way of furthering this end, public education (at least at the elementary level) was to be free of charge:

> In all the Schools, the Elementary Course of Instruction will be *free*, and at all times every Government Seminary will be accessible to every individual in the community.[84]

This civic nature of public schooling was also apparent in the resolution of the problem of religious instruction in the schools. Such instruction, consisting of "daily perusal of the Holy Scriptures,"[85] was encouraged, but the Memorandum was careful to ensure both that "[e]very facility will be afforded the Pupils of attending the Catechetical Instructions of their Respective Pastors"[86] and that:

> Should any parent conscientiously object to his child engaging in the Religious Exercises of the School, leave of absence during the hour set apart for such Exercises will be granted to the child, on due application.[87]

This was a very secular compromise for the time, and is reminiscent of the sort of religious instruction visualized by Horace Mann in the United States.[88] The goal here, as was the case with Mann, was to use the school to teach "those great Christian truths" which, it was assumed, would be accepted "by all rational men."

Colonel Bell, in his original Memorandum, had been quite sympathetic to the "language question" in South Africa, and it would seem that at least some of his concern was taken seriously by his superiors. The Memorandum of 1839, in its final form, sought to "respect[] the attachment which is naturally felt by the Colonists of Dutch extraction to their own language,"[89] and even went so far as to incorporate the study of Dutch grammar into the elementary school curriculum where appropriate.[90] However, this in no way mitigated the fact that a primary objective of schooling in the colony entailed "diffusing a correct knowledge of the English language among all ranks of the people."[91] Indeed, one of the principal subjects to be taught in the elementary curriculum was:

> A sound Grammatical knowledge of the English language . . . This, as it regards Dutch Pupils, can only be attained by making a well arranged course of oral and written translation from Dutch into English, and from English into Dutch, an essential part of Elementary Instruction . . . A Grammatical knowledge of the Dutch Language will be communicated to all Pupils who require to join the translation classes.[92]

Two features of this policy merit comment at this point. First, what was being advocated was still, in essence, the Anglicization of the Boers; knowledge of Dutch was never seen as desirable, let alone necessary, for students from English-speaking backgrounds.[93] Further, although advocates of the Memorandum of 1839 could not be held accountable for this oversight, the language of the Boers in South Africa had by this point in time developed into a language far removed from standard, High Dutch.[94] As J.J. Smith noted in his lecture on the "Theories About the Origins of Afrikaans,"[95]

> . . . it is evident that by the year 1800 Afrikaans was well established as a separate form of language; and judging from the nature of the earlier writtings I think we may safely say that by the year 1750 Afrikaans had reached its modern form.[96]

This meant that where the policy was implemented children were expected to acquire two foreign languages rather than just one — and this in a setting in which their home language was not recognized at all.

A central concern in the Memorandum of 1839 was that of the need for improving the teaching force in the colony. In the introductory paragraph to the Memorandum, for instance, we are told that Sir George Napier sought the "placing [of] the Public Schools in [the] charge of men professionally qualified to undertake the important office of Public Instructors."[97] Further, among the funds allocated by Lord Glenelg for the implementation of the Memorandum was a total of some £150 to £300 per annum for teacher salaries.[98] Last, as a way of ensuring the training of local talent for the teaching profession, a Normal School was to be established in Cape Town, modelled on the teacher-training institutions of Prussia.[99]

The most notable feature of the Memorandum of 1839, however, was the creation of the post of General Superintendent of Public Education, with an accompanying salary of £500.[100] The General Superintendent was to perform a formidable array of duties relating to public education in the colony.[101] He was to serve as the general educational inspector for the Cape, and was expected:

> . . . to visit every school at least once a year, to examine the ordinary

> routine of daily instruction, the arrangement of subjects, classification of pupils, etc., and to institute a strict inquiry into the state and progress of the Schools generally.[102]

Further, the General Superintendent was given the somewhat awesome task of acting as the registrar for the entire educational system. He was:

> . . . to call for Monthly Returns from every School, of the attendance, conduct, and progress of every Pupil, and Quarterly Reports of the stated examinations in presence of the Local School Commissions, detailing the subjects taught in the various classes, during the Quarter, the comparative merits of each Pupil, and the Report of the Board on the result of the Examination.[103]

The General Superintendent was, moreover, to issue "Certificates" to pupils on the completion of their course of study, which would, in turn, "be considered favourably by Government when selecting officers for the Public Service."[104]

Related to his tasks as registrar for the colony was the requirement that the General Superintendent:

> . . . supply the Government with all necessary information on the Educational Statistics of the Colony, and to draw up Periodic Reports from the Monthly and Quarterly Returns, as also from his Annual Visitations, of the state of each School, and the efficiency of the System.[105]

Nor was the job of General Superintendent to be a purely bureaucratic one, for the individual appointed to this post was to be, in the most positive use of the term, a professional educator. He was, in the words of the Memorandum, to:

> . . . hold constant communication with the Instructors of the several Schools on the method of instruction, — the progress of Education in various parts of the world, — the local difficulties with which the Teacher may have to contend, — and generally on every topic that can contribute to advance the cause of Education in the Colony.[106]

As Pells has written, the office of Superintendent General was certainly no sinecure.[107] And yet, if any one action of the government of the period can be praised, it is the selection of James Rose-Innes to serve as the first Superintendent General of Public Education at the Cape. Whatever flaws the Memorandum and the reforms it entailed may have contained, the appointment of Rose-Innes was a singularly fortunate action, and one which bode well for the future of education in South Africa.[108] Indeed, whatever success may have come from the Memorandum must, in large part, be attributed to the talent, skills and efforts of this former schoolmaster.

Conclusion

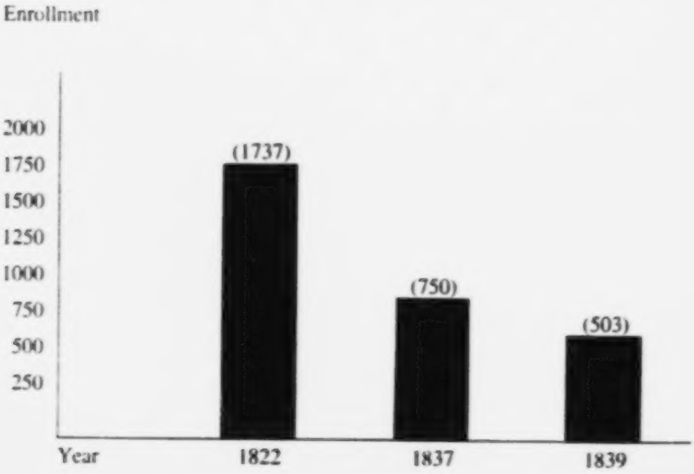
The effects of the Memorandum of 1839 can be appraised as mixed. Certainly the selection of Rose-Innes was an excellent one; in fact, Malherbe notes that wherever he travelled in the Cape, Rose-Innes was "met with a most cordial reception from all classes of the community."[109] Further, the quality of the teaching force, at least in the leading schools of the colony, does appear to have been substantially improved.[110] Last, the Memorandum did result in the beginnings of centralization of school authority in the Cape, and provided a foundation for further educational development in South Africa.

On the other hand, these benefits do not seem to have had any great impact on schooling in the rural parts of the Cape. The old "*meester*" remained typical in many areas, and low pay continued to be the rule rather than the exception.[111] The number of teachers brought to South Africa was fewer than had been hoped, and this, too, did not help to alleviate the problems of rural schooling.[112] Finally, despite the sympathy of Rose-Innes for vernacular language instruction, the policy of Anglicization continued for the most part unabated in the schools of the colony.[113]

All told, the Memorandum of 1839 was a far-sighted and liberal attempt at educational reform which, although in many ways successful, was limited in its effectiveness. The intentions of its authors were good, but inadequate in the face of an underdeveloped, colonial society undergoing the beginnings of an ethnic, linguistic and religious schism between Boer and Briton. It was, ironically, both ahead of its time and too late in coming.

Figure 1

"Enrollment in English Free Schools, 1822-1839"



(Based on Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, pp. 82-83)

Figure 2

"Numbers of Private (Dutch) and English Free Schools in South Africa, 1822-1839"

Year	Private Schools (Dutch)	Free Schools (English)
1822	NA	6
1827	NA	26
1830	39	NA
1835	34	NA
1836	36	17
1837	86	NA
1838	92	NA
1839	94	11

(Based on Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, pp. 82-83)

Notes

[1] E.G. Pells, *Three Hundred Years of Education in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta, 1954), pp. 20-21.

[2] Ernst G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa: 1652-1922*, vol. 1 (1925; Cape Town: Juta, 1975), p. 71.

[3] Michigan and Massachusetts actually preceed South Africa in appointing State Superintendents of Education. See ibid., pp. 74-75.

[4] T.R.H. Davenport, *Southern Africa: A Modern History*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 29; Leo Marquard, *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 7.

[5] The 8:1 ratio actually refers to the population *after* the arrival of the 1820 Settlers. See A.L. Behr and R.G. MacMillan, *Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1966), p. 95; Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 57.

[6] T.R.H. Davenport, "The Consolidation of a New Society: The Cape Colony," in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., *The Oxford History of South Africa*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 283.

[7] W. Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (1823; Cape Town: C. Struik, 1966), p. 167.

[8] A. Wyatt Tilby, *The English People Overseas: Volume VI, South Africa, 1486-1913* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), p. 66.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60.

[11] Behr and MacMillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 94.

[12] Pells, *Three Hundred Wives Years*, p. 20; Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 62-63; Behr and MacMillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 95.

[13] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 62-63. See also George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa: From 1795 to 1872*, vol. 1 [in complete series, vol. 5] (1915; Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964), pp. 267-268.

[14] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 67.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 61; Pells, *Three Hundred Years*, p. 20.

[18] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 64.

[19] Behr and MacMillan, *Education in South Africa*, pp. 94-95. See also David Wardle, *English Popular Education, 1780-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 32; Carl F. Kaestle, comp., *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement: A Documentary History* (New York: 1973).

[20] See, for example, C.F. Kotze, "A New Regime, 1806-1834," in C.F.J. Muller, ed., *Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa* (Pretoria: Academia, 1969), pp. 117-145.

[21] See John Selby, *A Short History of South Africa* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973), p. 41.

[22] Eric A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa* (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 156.

[23] Ibid.; Selby, *A Short History*, pp. 41-47; Marquard, *Peoples and Policies*, p. 7; Theal, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 349-360.

[24] Davenport, *A Modern History*, p. 31.

[25] Quoted in Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 57.

[26] Lord Somerset's Proclamation is reprinted in Bird, *State of the Cape*, "Appendix N," pp. 329-330. See also Davenport, *A Modern History*, p. 31; Walker, *Southern Africa*, p. 141.

[27] Davenport, *A Modern History*, pp. 31-32; Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 58; T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 4.

[28] André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

p. 24.

[29] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 58n10.

[30] Ibid., p. 58.

[31] M.E. McKerron, *A History of Education in South Africa: 1652-1932* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1934), p. 22.

[32] See Davenport, *A Modern History*, p. 31.

[33] F.A. van Jaarsveld, *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1961), p. 33.

[34] du Toit and Giliomee, *Afrikaner Political Thought*, p. 25.

[35] Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, p. 4.

[36] Despite McKerron's claim to the contrary in his *A History of Education*, p. 121. See van Jaarsveld, *Awakening*, pp. 35-36; J. Scholtz, *Die Afrikaner en sy Taal* (Cape Town: 1939), p. 23.

[37] van Jaarsveld, *Awakening*, pp. 35-36.

[38] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 58.

[39] Ibid., p. 68; Theal, *History*, vol. 2 [vol. 6 in complete series] (1892), p. 209.

[40] Theal, *History*, vol. 2 [6], p. 208.

[41] Behr and MacMillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 97; G.E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. 4 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926), pp. 213-214; Walker, *Southern Africa*, p. 238.

[42] W.T. Ferguson, with R.F.M. Immelman, comps., *Sir John Herschel and Education at the Cape, 1834-1840* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 14. Origin in the Cape Archives (Enclosure No. 1, Dispatch No. 11, 1838).

[43] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. 4, p. 213. See also Behr and MacMillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 97.

[44] Ibid. See Colonel Bell's Memorandum in the *Watermeyer Commission Report* (Cape Town: Soloman, 1863), Appendix V, Document No. 21, pp. 52–55.

[45] Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. 4, p. 214.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 215.

[48] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 75n46.

[49] Ibid., pp. 75-77; J.C. Coetzee, ed., *Onderwys in Suid-Afrika, 1652-1960* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1963), pp. 56-57.

[50] Although Herschel's contributions are generally viewed quite favorably, it should be noted that that this is not universally the case. Cory, for example, dissents from the standard view, arguing that Herschel's letter, "where it was not somewhat vague and general . . . seemed to be little more than an echo of the practical parts of that of Colonel Bell." *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. 4, p. 215.

[51] See Ferguson, *Sir John Herschel*, p. 4.

[52] The complete texts of both letters are reprinted in ibid., pp. 14-25 and 27-34, respectively.

[53] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 76-77.

[54] Letter from Herschel to Bell (17 February 1838).

[55] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 75n46.

[56] See Lawrence A. Cremin, ed., *The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1957).

[57] Letter from Herschel to Bell (17 February 1838).

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 76-77.

[63] Letter from Herschel to Bell (17 February 1838).

[64] Letter from Bell to Herschel (20 February 1838).

[65] Letter from Herschel to Lord Glenelg (6 March 1838). Enclosure No. 2 in Dispatch No. 11, 1838.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 77.

[68] Letter from Herschel to Lord Glenelg (6 March 1838).

[69] Ibid.

[70] Letter from Herschel to Reverend Dr. J. Adamson (21 November 1835).

[71] See Timothy Reagan, "Bilingual Education: A Reevaluation of Objectives."

Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society 8 (1980): 15-25.

[72] See Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. 4, pp. 215-216.

[73] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, pp. 78-79; Theal, *History*, vol. 2, p. 210.

[74] Davenport, *A Modern History*, p. 31.

[75] Ibid.

[76] See Pells, *Three Hundred Years*, p. 21.

[77] Original in Cape Town Archives, Enclosure No. 3, Dispatch No. 11, 1838.

[78] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 79.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Basil A. Le Cordeur, *The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism, 1820-1854* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 98.

[81] Quoted in Ferguson, *Sir John Herschel*, p. 27n2.

[82] See Letter from Herschel to Lord Glenelg (6 March 1838).

[83] Government Memorandum of 23 May 1839. Reprinted in full in the *Watermeyer Commission Report*, Appendix V, Document No. 24.

[84] Ibid. Emphasis in original.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] See Horace Mann's comments on this subject in his Twelfth Annual Report (1848), reprinted in Cremin, *The Republic and the School*, pp. 101-112.

[89] Government Memorandum of 23 May 1839.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 81.

[94] See, for example, Marius F. Valkhoff, *New Light on Afrikaans and 'Malayo-Portuguese'* (Louvain: Editons Peeters, 1972); Ken Jordaan, "The Origins of the Afrikaners and Their Language, 1652-1720: A Study in Miscegenation and Creole," *Race* 15, 4 (1974): 461-495.

[95] J.J. Smith, *Theories About the Origins of Afrikaans* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1952).

[96] Ibid., p. 20.

[97] Government Memorandum of 23 May 1839.

[98] See Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 80n4.

[99] Government Memorandum of 23 May 1839.

[100] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 80n4.

[101] See Government Memorandum of 23 May 1839.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Pells, *Three Hundred Years*, p. 22.

[108] Malherbe, *Education in South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 80.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., p. 80n5.

[112] Ibid.

[113] See Pells, *Three Hundred Years*, p. 23.

Part V

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

Schools for Scandal: Catholic and Evangelical Views of Public Education, 1890-1980

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Introduction

The past several years have witnessed the reappearance of religion as a critical issue in American education. The attempt to pass a school prayer amendment in Congress, the Supreme Court decision on a Minnesota law allowing tuition tax credits for parents of children in private schools, and continuing battles over the teaching of evolution in the public schools are all indicative of the continued vitality of religious controversy over schooling.[1] That educators were surprised unexpectedly by such antagonism from a new direction is seen in the attempts of professional periodicals to deal with this recurring threat.[2] However, even a brief excursion into the history of American education reveals that what has occurred in recent years must be seen in the context of broader conflicts over public schooling in the redeemer republic. In fact, these contemporary criticisms bear in both tone and content striking resemblance to those fought nearly a century earlier. In this former era, however, the marginated group was not fundamentalist in background, but Roman Catholic.

This essay will examine the assault on public schooling made by Roman Catholic critics in the period from 1900 to 1930, and fundamentalist commentators a generation later. Taken together, these two similar assaults converge in what might be termed an outsider's critique of American public schooling. The similarities between them are not an historical accident. Rather, the common elements in both waves of attack upon public schooling are the product of powerful forces at work in the underlying process of modernization. As the content of the criticisms points out, these clashes are most correctly viewed not as theological differences but as conflicts between opposing world views, the one traditional and the other modern. While early twentieth century Catholicism and contemporary Protestant fundamentalism are very different religious systems, both contain significant elements of traditional culture. Common schooling, on the other hand, was both the transmitter of American modernity in the years surrounding the Civil War and one of its most potent symbols.

The locus of Catholic concern about public schooling shifted after the 1880s. Previously, concern had tended to focus on the Protestant character of public education, either in expressing concern for the anti-Catholic bias of the schools or complaining about the injustice of being required to support a system of common schools which was religiously unacceptable for Catholic children. Issues such as the use of the King James Bible and anti-Catholic textbooks, as well as teacher bias, became the foci of Catholic attention.[3] Hostility to public schooling was based primarily on concern for the survival of Catholic culture in the face of a school system which appeared to denigrate its importance.

By the 1880s, however, shifts in events had brought about a different set of Catholic concerns. In a series of pitched battles, Catholics and other religious minorities had successfully engineered the removal of the more overt symbols of the Protestant *paideia* such as the King James Bible from the public schools.[4] In doing this, however, they had created still another set of problems. The objectionable evangelical character of the schools had been replaced by a secular model which was equally abhorrent. While Catholics had cheerfully made common cause with liberals during the era of conflict in their efforts to remove Protestant religion from the common schools, they did not espouse the liberal position. Indeed, as the character of the debate shows, they frequently had more in common philosophically with their evangelical antagonists than with their liberal confreres.[5]

The first major objection to public schooling, then, was its lack of religious content. This lack was seen as the primary reason for the formation of parochial schools:

> It is true that Catholics do not send their children to public schools; that they prefer to undergo the burden of maintaining their own parochial schools, colleges and academies; but the sole reason for this is that they consider religious instruction of paramount importance in the scheme of education; that they hold themselves responsible to God for the rearing of their little ones to be practical Christians as well as competent men or breadwinners; that they regard the final end of man, eternal happiness in Heaven, as of infinitely greater moment than temporal success in worldly affairs, and, consequently, deserving of first importance in the scholastic curriculum.[6]

Because of this lack, common schooling was seen simply as inappropriate for Catholic children.

This lack of religion in the public schools was also seen as the source of other difficulties which made them undesirable for Catholics—and practically everyone else. The increase in youth crime was tied to secular education. A speech by Vice President Marshall which laid the blame for juvenile delinquency on common schools without a religious foundation was applauded, while Leopold and Loeb were held up as the inevitable results of a school system which tried to educate without a foundation in religious values.[7]

Contemporary fundamentalists see secularized public education in a similar fashion. The rogue philosophy of "secular humanism," which insists on "man's attempt to solve his problems independently of God" and "has moved our country from a biblically based society to an amoral, "democratic society" during the past forty years," has taken over American public schooling. The result is an educational system which is "both anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant-because it is anti-God."[8] Again, the direction is seen as aberrant. In arguing against the ban on school prayer, for example, Senator Strom Thurmond insists that the general welfare of the republic depends on the guidance given young people. For him, to deny children the right to acknowledge God while at the same time receiving intellectual and athletic education is both absurd and "does not comport with the intentions of the framers of the Constitution."[9]

Another significant danger was that of radicalism. The "red scares" around the time of World War I, coupled with earlier anxieties about anarchy and socialism, had made Americans acutely sensitive to radical political ideas. American Catholics especially were concerned with a dramatic increase in Soviet persecution of religion during and after the Russian civil war. Moreover, one senses a delight in their ability to portray the current wave of extremism not as the product of stereotypical immigrant (and hence, Catholic) radicals, but of impeccably credentialed native-born Americans.

Socialism came under fire because of its godless bases. Indeed, its roots are in "a materialism . . . which for some years has been affecting our schools."[10] Concrete instances of the infection of public education were seen in the formation of the Socialist Teachers Bureau and similar organizations as well as statements by Milwaukee mayor Seidel and Eugene V. Debs.[11] Only Christian education, it was felt, could save the younger generation from "radical socialists and anarchists of every description . . . striving to put their vagaries into practice."[12]

Even more serious, in the minds of some, was the communist threat. Two articles in *America* by Dudley Wooten cataloged dangerous tendencies in the nation's public schools, including the absence of religious teaching with positivism supplied in its place. Most ominous, however, was the presence of textbooks espousing "frank and brutal atheism, or a vague Pantheism which amounts to the same thing."[13] Again, an antidote was prescribed. In order to have relief from the "nightmare of Bolshevism," the United States must "get rid of the wishy-washy sentimentality that has destroyed the discipline of our primary and secondary schools," instead insisting upon "the development of habits of respect for authority and obedience to law."[14]

Even social liberalism came under fire. Particularly in collegiate education, the notion that all ideas are acceptable within the academic marketplace was viewed as pernicious. Thus, a statement by the president of Dartmouth that he would bring in Lenin or Trotsky as lecturers if available was cited as an example of the dangers which non-Catholic education affords. Similarly, support by liberal intellectuals for Sacco and Vanzetti was seen as the inevitable conclusion brought about by the absence of religion from the schools: "The little red schoolhouse," from which God and religion were banished, had naturally resulted in the "big 'red' college"."[15] Liberalism, then, was seen as the handmaid of more radical ideologies.

One major reason for this fear of leftist ideologies was what some observers saw as the ever-increasing domination of schooling by the state, and especially, by the federal government. This direction, they argued, like the secularization of the schools, was at variance with the broad traditions of American education. Legislation such as the Smith-Towner, Sterling-Towner, and Reed-Sterling bills which attempted to create a federal department of education headed by a cabinet level secretary were opposed as putting far too much control in the hands of a single civil authority, eliciting comparison of the new American directions with "the Prussian ideal of despotic State control over all social life and institutions."[16] Some credence was given to these fears on the state level by the litigation which resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of *Meyer* v. *Nebraska* and *Pierce* v. *The Society of Sisters* which were watched with interest by the Catholic press.[17]

Another tendency viewed as dangerous was the movement of individual states in the direction of providing free textbooks. While opponents argued against the policy on the basis that individual differences militated against the statewide imposition of particular books for a given level, and that textbooks were gradually disappearing as an instructional tool anyway, the real objection was not on pedagogical grounds. Rather, the proposed legislation was viewed as an incursion of socialist doctrine into the schools, a systematic attempt to make individuals even more dependent upon the state. This educational "souperism" was seen as a "desire to force all students, who attend the public schools, to enlist themselves in a sort of pauper class, dependent upon the state for their books, as are the inmates of public poor-houses for their keep, shelter and clothing."[18]

The same concern is evident among contemporary fundamentalists. With the coming of massive federal aid to education after 1957, at least one critic has argued, the "humanist domination" of American public schooling begins, since to procure federal aid, schools must accept the humanistically oriented federal policies regardless of community sensibilities.[19] Rousas Rushdoony, a noted fundamentalist interpreter of American educational history, argues that the end product is what he terms "statist education":

> Statist education increasingly assumes that (1) the child is the child of the state or the property of the state, which can therefore interfere extensively with parental authority. (2) The state "priesthood" of educators are best able to rear the child and prepare him for life, viewed as statist life. (3) Statist education is alone "objective" and hence true, the state having the impartiality and transcendence of a god.[20]

Like Catholics before them, fundamentalist Protestants bridle at the notion of increased school control by any single agency.

American Catholics became further alienated from the public schools as a result of the rise of both administrative and Deweyian progressivism. The ideal of an efficient system of apolitical schools run by professional administrators so dear to the hearts of Cubberley and his confreres was not shared by Catholic observers. In a brief alternative historiography of American education one Catholic commentator claimed that movement in the direction of control by experts had really begun with the systematizing of Horace Mann and the formation of professional teacher organizations in the middle of the nineteenth century. The result of the even greater tendencies toward central control under the influence of administrative progresses had, in his mind, produced a "*Soviet of Soviets* as formidable and ruthless in its tyranny of opinion as the Russian "republic" in its protracted carnival of savagery and crime."[21]

One particular form which this apprehensiveness about central control and a "government of experts" took was a disdain for that most potent of administrative progressive tools, the school survey. For one Ohio critic, the survey was simply a means of bringing hated fads into the public schools. Why, he asked, did the surveys not look at what he considered to be the real problems with common schooling, ones which in his estimate had brought about an exodus to the Catholic institutions, despite the elaborate financing and lavish facilities of the public ones?[22] Despite the efforts of educational societies and philanthropic organizations such as the Russell Sage Foundation to promote the surveys, New York's superintendent Maxwell and Chicago's Young were cited for their negative opinions of this research. The surveyors, rather than the surveys themselves, were viewed as the real problem: "It is useless, or rather, decidedly harmful when conducted by a parcel of cranks who are determined to make the facts fit their prejudices."[23]

The main targets of criticism, however, were those progressive changes which involved curriculum and institutional character. Industrial and vocational education were suspect both because of their roots in material culture and because their narrow focus of interest seemed opposed to conservative understandings of the liberalizing value of education. Additionally, the cost of such training and its inappropriateness in the formal setting of the school made it an undesirable fad.[24] As a result, the Smith-Hughes Act and other vocational education legislation were opposed.

The broadened curriculum, too, received unfavorable attention. A gullible American public was thought to

> gage [sic] the worth of an educational system by the number of subjects mentioned in the catalog or prospectus; and . . . overlook entirely the fact that it is impossible for the average child to acquire a solid training in anything beyond the four or five traditionally essential branches during its passage through the eight grades of common school. The multiplication of studies can result in only a most superficial knowledge, little more than an indistinct notion of terms.[25]

This dissipation of effort was seen, too, within the individual subjects. Attempts to make history more lively, the critics argued, simply resulted in a pro-British view of the American past and a consequent denigration of the noble cause of the Revolutionary War. Students of English found themselves exposed so briefly to Shakespeare and other great authors that key ideas were never grasped and phonetic methods of spelling resulted in horrendous errors. Even the teaching of grammar was neglected: "Where is the man (that we may crown him!) who will conceive the high aim of teaching our high-school boys and girls that a sentence has structure, that grammar is not a crime, and that it is desirable to spell more correctly than the *Bulletin* of the National Education Association?"[26] According to one bishop, these changes all attempted to deny the reality that scholarship is ultimately achieved only by hard work.[27]

If a widened curriculum was the disease, Catholic opinion was that it was best cured by a healthy dose of classical education. *America* reported in detail a 1916 meeting at Princeton to discuss the place of the classics in education, and educators such as Nicholas Murray Butler and the Cincinnati superintendent of public schools are later quoted as lamenting the sorry state of American schooling and encouraging a return to the study of Latin and Greek. A letter from a "Protestant Business Man" to the New York *Sun* which insisted on the superiority of Catholic schools because of their thorough rote training in reading, writing and arithmetic was reproduced in full with comment, and approval was given to Cincinnati's foundation of a publicly supported high school specializing in classical education.[28] Such a conservative approach to education, it was argued, would provide not only basic skills but the discipline necessary for a successful adult life.

The inclusion of two particular subjects in the new curriculum has caused alarm in both groups. Catholics, while insisting that no religious group could force the teaching of its beliefs in the public schools (this in the context of the Scopes case), also maintained that the adoption of Darwinian evolution in biology curricula was one more sign of the materialism and naturalism of public education.[29] Fundamentalists have been even more adamant in their opposition, seeing evolution as one of the five tenets of the much hated "humanism." Like Catholics before them, they understand the teaching of evolution to be simply a sign of human persons independent of God.[30]

Sex education was seen as even more potentially threatening. Early twentieth century Catholic writers repeatedly condemned the sex hygiene movement since "experience teaches all too plainly that indiscriminate enlightening . . . is itself a prolific source of manifold evils."[31] Similarly, present-day fundamentalists view sex education as an "avalanche of pornography . . . masquerading as education," and mark it as an effort to destroy religion among the young. Only strenuous activity on the part of Christian parents, it is felt, can stem this tide of "moral poison."[32]

Tied to all of these curricular concerns was the frequently articulated convication that the "new education" was coddling children and creating disciplinary problems as a result. Horror stories were told of public school pupils tying up their teachers and throwing them into streams, and of students going on strike or rioting as evidence of the laxity into which public education had sunk.[33] Examples of giving youths whatever they wanted, referred to as "gottas and gimmes," included a dinner given by high school seniors at a cost of $14 a plate, and the purchase of school rings for $28 (this in 1924 dollars). The end result, in the minds of some, was the raising of a generation in which "trashiness of fiber is the moral weakness of America." Only, it was argued, would a return to firmness provide the discipline necessary for moral development. Thus,

> The fond parent or the fonder teacher, may be in earnest when he solemnly intones, "This hurts me just as much as it does you, Willie," but he is doing his duty to himself, his child, and his country, when he applies the switch on certain necessary occasions.[34]

Once again, the antidote to perceived progressivist excess is a return to traditional conservative modes of discipline.

This fear of pandering the child's most self-indulgent interests made new directions in educational psychology and theory the subject of scrutiny and, frequently enough, of criticism. One concern with the "new psychology" is that it was empirically based and so, removed from the discipline of philosophy which parented it.[35] Moreover, it centered its attentions upon the child's feelings and ignored more long standing notions of discipline in the schools.[36] A fear of overworking the child or of prematurely hardening its "plasticity," the critics argued, had led to an avoidance of the realities of a human nature in which not all impulses are productive.[37] Even Montessori education, later to become fashionable in liberal Catholic schools, came in for attack. While the greatest blasts were levelled at the anarchistic pedagogical theories of Ferrer, Montessori and her more moderate child centered approach were criticized for seeming to ignore external discipline as a necessary component in a child's educational development. This removal of traditional constraints seemed, in the eyes of the critics, to err in the direction of a naturalism which ignored the reality of the child as a moral as well as intellectual being.[38] Child study was seen as useful in reminding the public of individual differences and forcing educators to take a child's view of things. However, the results of following blindly the directions set by those characterized as imagining "that the "dear children" should be allowed to follow freely their own impulses, in the critics' view, were seen in the rise of school vandalism.[39]

Another caution regarded the new discipline of intelligence testing. Here again, there was concern that psychology had become too divorced from its philosophical roots and had taken a naturalistic direction.[40] In a six part series, one Catholic periodical attempted to show both the positive and negative aspects. The value of such tests was seen in their power to measure thinking ability rather than mere memory, the fact that they could be scored only in one fashion (unlike more subjective teacher constructed tests) and were not based on factual information. Examples of children from deprived backgrounds who would have tested poorly but were in fact reasonably intelligent are cited as evidence of the limits of testing. Over and over again, the author stressed that they measured only one particular facet of intelligence, that which concerns skills which are school oriented:

> I cannot refrain from repeating that it has been a blunder to refer to these tests as intelligence tests without restricting more emphatically and constantly the meaning of the word. We are without doubt measuring but one aspect or species of intelligence.[41]

While mental testing was not condemned, it was seen as having clearly defined limits of usefulness.

Most generally, the whole notion of education as a primarily social enterprise was regarded as suspect. Former President Taft was cited as ridiculing attempts to cure educational defects by a larger dose of democracy in the school, opining that "This great social consciousness, beneficial as it is, has produced some hysterical excesses."[42] Contrasts were made between the more traditional modes of education in which schooling was seen as "a training-ground of individuality, devoted to mental culture, to the acquisition of useful information and to character-building," and the present emphasis on social development. The latter direction, in the mind of at least one critic, had created a situation in which,

> In the name of democracy and socialization the modern "educators" have established a rigid autocracy over the whole field of public instruction, while the kind of social equality they have fostered is the reign of a monotonous and commercialized mediocrity that "levels the mountains but does not fill up the plains."[43]

Not only were specific progressive curricular innovations rejected, and modern psychology viewed with wariness, but the philosophical basis for many of these developments was seen as being antithetical to traditional Catholic positions.

Fundamentalist critiques of public schooling also include concern about curricular issues. *The Battle for the Schools*, for example, devotes several chapters to the question of "why Johnny still can't read," placing the blame on the use of the "look-and-say" method of teaching reading rather than one emphasizing phonics. For LaHaye, the choice of this method is a direct result of progressivist educational theory. Such progressive curricular developments as this and the "new math" he views as "change for change's sake," still another indication of the demise of public education.[44]

In like manner, fundamentalists see violence in today's schools as "a classic testimony to the total failure of the humanist brainchild called permissiveness." Only a move away from "free expression" which is opposed to the educational process, they feel, will occasion a return to discipline, authority and respect in public education, making learning once again possible.[45]

Conclusion

In many respects, American Catholics' view of public education during the first three decades of the twentieth century was strikingly similar to that of contemporary fundamentalists. Like the fundamentalists they believed strongly in the necessity of religion as a part of the educational process. They, too, were skeptical about curricular innovation and the apparent lack of discipline encouraged by progressive pedagogical theory. Sex education and the teaching of evolution were viewed as dangerous by both groups. Both opposed federal control for a similar reason, the belief that power over education ought not to reside in a single national governmental authority. There was a concern on the part of evangelicals and Catholics alike about the threats posed by radical ideologies in the schools to the American way of life.

If the problems were seen in similar terms, so were the remedies. A "back to basics" approach, emphasizing traditional curricular content, was seen as desirable. Discipline ought to be restored at all levels. Most importantly, schools ought to communicate religious values as part of their daily activities.

There was, moreover, a common pattern of educational development in both groups. Catholics in the early nineteenth century and fundamentalists in the twentieth initially supported common schooling. Then, as it became obvious to both groups that their religious cultures were not able to capture public education, they moved in the direction of separate systems of schooling to propagate their beliefs to the next generation. The earlier experience of Catholics, in fact, makes the phenomenal success of the Christian school movement in recent years more explicable. This fastest growing sector of the American K-12 educational landscape is as direct a response to a disenchantment with public education as was the Catholic school movement of the latter part of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries.[46]

Why should two groups as dissimilar as evangelical fundamentalists and Roman Catholics both critique public schooling from similar perspectives and respond to perceived threats in the same fashion? The answer lies not so much in the realm of belief as in that of social structure. During the period from 1865 to the beginning of World War I, America entered what has come to be termed as the modern era. While traditional American society had been characterized by stability, localism, an ascriptive hierarchy, and a lack of fixed boundaries between secular and religious life, the new America emphasized consumption and enjoyment rather than producation and discipline, and was marked by increasingly sophisticated means of communication and transportation, centrally controlled organizations (including schools) and an increasing freedom from anxiety regarding physical and financial security. To use the terms of Richard Brown, a "modern" society had begun to replace a "traditional" one.[47]

The common school crusade may be seen as one more product of the drive toward modernization. Education was no longer to be limited to a ruling elite: schooling was to be functional rather than ornamental. Moreover, the educational evangelicals who spread the gospel of common schooling were motivated by simultaneous religious and secular concerns. Horace Mann emphasized both virtue and national progress as the necessary results of universal schooling. The degree to which Americans bought not only the more traditional religious motivation (need for literacy in order to read the King James Bible) for schooling, but also more secular ones is testified to by the ratio of students to the total population (second in 1850 only to Denmark) and the constant increase in length of school year and literacy rate throughout the nineteenth century.[48] Citizens of the redeemer republic were educating their children well beyond the minimum necessary to read scripture: schooling was now seen as economically advantageous, a uniquely modern view.

The common schools themselves were both examples and transmitters of the modern world view. As Raymond Callahan has documented, the increased bureaucratization of the common school in the late nineteenth century consciously mirrored the rise of the efficient industrial system, itself a symbol of American modernity.[49] At the same time, public education was a principal agency for transmitting the values of modernity to the young. Nineteenth century textbooks emphasized the republican ideals characteristic of modern ideology, turning heroes such as Washington and Lincoln into near deities. Such republicanism, however, was usually defined more by behavior than beliefs. To be an American was to behave like one—patriotic, industrious, punctual, moral and ingenious.[50]

Because of the immigrants' generally traditional world view, the common schools served an especially important in nineteenth century urban America. For these children, their task was not only to transmit modernity but also to erase, as much as possible, the vestiges of traditional culture. Indeed, as Brown has noted, Americanization, as proclaimed by the nativists, was strikingly similar to the internalization of modern values.[51] Thus public schooling became a critical agency in the propagation of modern culture, as well as one of its most potent symbols.

Nineteenth Century Catholicism was a mixture of both modern and traditional components. In its linear view of reality, with death and the afterlife as ultimate concerns, its world view resembles a modern one. In many other aspects, however, it was clearly a traditional institution. Hierarchical rather than democratic in nature, it emphasized not so much the salvation of individuals on the basis of personal change and conversion (as did Protestantism) but as a result of participation in the religious system. While international in scope and bureaucratic in organization, it strongly resisted the rise of nationalism, insisting on the primacy of the church above all other social structures. The distinction between secular and sacred was blurred in its eyes: the ideal was of an interrelated civil and religious society in which the ends of each were furthered by the other. On the whole, Catholicism of this era appears as a far more traditional than modern religion, especially if we take into account its more popular aspects.[52]

Evangelical fundamentalism, while it differs markedly from Catholicism, also has many traditional aspects. Although the more modern notions of personal change and conversion, and lay control are two of its major features, its emphasis on a literal interpretation of scripture, and its consistent resistance to any governance structure beyond the local church mark it as highly traditional in some respects. Like Catholicism, it rejects the notion that religious and civil society are two distinct spheres of human life. The Scopes case and more recent legal battles over evolution and sex education suggest that fundamentalists long for a world in which civil and religious society are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Once again, the traditional character of the religious society becomes evident.

Both early twentieth century Catholic criticism of public schooling and more recent fundamentalist attacks, then, are rooted in the same source: a world view which is highly traditional, and which is in opposition to the modernity of secular society. The specific educational concerns make this clear. A child-centered curriculum with its emphasis on enjoyment is opposed to the traditional values of production and discipline. Increasing intervention of the state in education, both in regulation and providing resources, is unacceptable to supporters of localism. The presence of teaching about sex and evolution, together with an absence of religion, indicates the greatest threat of all, a society which separates human life and behavior from explicit religious beliefs. Called "godlessness" by nineteenth century Catholics and "secular humanism" by contemporary evangelicals, this modern view is a fundamental denial of that union of sacred and secular critical to traditional ideology.

While this comparison provides no easy solution to contemporary clashes over religion in the schools, or about what values ought to be taught, it does point out that the issues are rooted far more deeply in the American experience than they might seem to be at first glance. Certainly, it argues that the criticisms of contemporary fundamentalists can easily be dismissed only at the peril of the increasingly fragile public school coalition. Only to the extent that these recurring issues, and the underlying concerns they express are faced squarely and sensitively is there any possibility of preventing a schism potentially as serious as that which removed Catholics from the common school consensus in the nineteenth century.

Notes

[1] See *New York Times*, issues for March, 1984, for materials on the proposed school prayer amendment; Donald E. Boles, "Did the Wall Come Tumbling Down? Tuition Tax Credits — The Minnesota Story," *Religion and Public Education* 11 (1984), 33-42; San Jose *Mercury*, 3, 5, 7 March 1981 and *New York Times* 6 January 1982, 10, for particulars on several of the "creationism" cases.

[2] See, for example, the articles which appeared in the *Phi Delta Kappan* 64 (1982) under the provocative title, "The New Right, Watchdogs Unchained?," 87-98.

[3] Perko, *A Time to Favor Zion* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1981), 85-202; William O. Bourne, *History of the Public School Society of the City of New York* (New York: William Wood & Co., 1870).

[4] Michaelson, "Common Schools, Common Religion?"; Thomas C. Hunt, "The Edgarton Bible Decision: The End of an Era," *Catholic Historical Review* 67 (1981), 589-619.

[5] See, for example, the arguments in *The Bible in the Public Schools. Arguments in the Case of John D. Minor et al. Versus the Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati et al.* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1870).

[6] Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*, 17 June 1915.

[7] *Catholic Telegraph*, 21 May 1914; *America* 31 (1924), 457-8.

[8] Tim LaHaye, *The Battle for the Mind* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1980), 26, 181, 43.

[9] Senator Strom Thurmond, *Congressional Digest*, May 1984, 140.

[10] *America* 7 (1912), 118.

[11] Ibid., 23 (1920), 237-38; 4 (1910), 221-22.

[12] *Catholic Telegraph*, 28 August 1918.

[13] *America* 26 (1922), 285-86; 479.

[14] *Catholic Telegraph* 3 April 1919.

[15] Ibid., 6 March 1924, 30 August 1928.

[16] *America* 30 (1924), 530-31; 31 (1924), 23-24; 26 (1922), 286.

[17] Ibid., 29 (1923), 213-14, 237-38.

[18] *Catholic Telegraph*, 2 May 1901, 3 August 1905, 24 February 1910, 21 March 1912.

[19] LaHaye, *Battle for the Mind*, 45.

[20] Rousas J. Rushdoony, *The Messianic Character of American Education: Studies in the History of the Philosophy of Education* (Nutley, NJ: The Craig Press, 1972), 323.

[21] *America* 26 (1922), 286.

[22] *Catholic Telegraph*, 1 May 1913.

[23] *America* 12 (1915), 573.

[24] *Catholic Telegraph*, 13 May 1915; *America* 19 (1916), 453; 22 (1920), 309-10, 357-58.

[25] *Catholic Telegraph*, 14 December 1911.

[26] *Catholic Telegraph*, 28 February 1901; *America* 18 (1917), 532-33; 13 (1915) 261-62; 22 (1919), 213-14.

[27] Sermon of Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati, quoted in the *Catholic Telegraph*, 29 March 1928.

[28] *America* 17 (1916), 124-25, 223-24; 26 (1922) 429-30; *Catholic Telegraph*, 19 November 1903, 6 September 1917, 8 January 1920.

[29] *Catholic Telegraph*, 25 June 1925; 9, 16 July 1925; 24 January 1929; *America*, 18 (1917), 507; 26 (1922), 479.

[30] Jerry Falwell, "Future-Word: An Agenda for the Eighties," in ed. Jerry Falwell, *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1980), 199.

[31] *America* 7 (1911), 141.

[32] Falwell, "Future-Word," 201, and LaHaye, *Battle for the Schools*, 99-172.

[33] *Catholic Telegraph*, 14 January 1904, 26 September 1912.

[34] *America* 30 (1924), 385; 19 (1918), 126; 18 (1917), 249.

[35] Ibid., 13 (1915), 477.

[36] *Catholic Telegraph*, 14 March 1918.

[37] *America*, 12 (1914), 101-02; 15 (1916), 504-05.

[38] Ibid., 7 (1912), 239, 261-62.

[39] *America* 12 (1914), 77-78; *Catholic Telegraph*, 28 December 1916.

[40] *America* 29 (1923), 140-41.

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KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Chronology of the History of Institutional Pre-School Education in Hungary

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1828 An infant school was opened in Buda. It was the first such institution in Hungary, also the first one in the Habsburg Monarchy, and even in Central Europe.

1830 The establishment of the "National association for the early education of infants in tutelary and training institutes." The association was dissolved by the authorities in 1832.

1836 Organization of the "Society for the Propagation of Infant Schools in Hungary." That time existed 14 infant schools in the country: in Buda 4; in Pest 4; in the provinces 6.

1837 The above mentioned Society opened a college for training of teachers of infant schools. The length of training was 12 months.

1838 The Society published the first issue of a periodical "On Infant Schools." It was not continued.

1843 The Hungarian Parliament discussed a Bill on elementary education. The Bill involved an article on infant schools, too. That time existed 41 infant schools in the country, all were undenominational and they had only male teachers. The Bill suggested: establishment of denominational infant schools is to forbidden; training of female teachers is to permitted. The Bill was rejected by the royal court, King Ferdinand V / in Austria: Emperor Ferdinand I/.

In the same year the "Society for the Propagation of Infant Schools in Hungary" published the first number of "Publications from the Circle of Infant Education and Elementary Education." The periodical was not continued.

1848 After the revolution of 15 March the problems of infant schools were discussed at the general and common congress of teachers / in July/. That time existed 90 institutions in the country. At the congress was suggested to spread infant school approximately at all settlements.

After the defeat of the revolution and of the war of independence / in August 1849/ this suggestion couldn't be realized.

1858 First time two women students being admitted to the Pre-school Teachers' Training College. From 1858 to 1873 the pupils of the College were consist of both men and women, with the relative proportion of the latter steadily increasing.

1867 After the Compromise between Hungary and Austria the institutional early childhood education could develop in more favourable circumstances. The number of institutions was in that year only 97.

1868 The Bill on elementary education included an article on pre-school education, too. The Bill passed, but the mentioned article not.

1870 An association of infant school teachers was established: National Association of Basic Educators. A periodical started: Paper of Basic Educators and of Parents /it existed, with changes of the title, for a long time/.

1872 Central Froebel Women's Club was founded. Froebelian methods are spreading.

1873 A new organization for pre-school education was founded: National Society for Infant Guard.

1874 The most important societies in the field of pre-school education united and a new association was established: National Society for Infant Care.

From this year onwards the student population of the Training College was to be composed of women only.

1876 The establishment of the first pre-school instutition by the State.

1878 The government put pre-school education under the supervision of local school boards.

1881 A ministarial deputy was appointed as national superintendent of pre-school education.

1890 The minister of education presented a Bill on pre-school education to the Parliament. /The proportion of children visiting a pre-school institution was that time about 5 percent of the 3-6 age population./

1891 Pre-school Education Act came into force. The Act prescribes that attendance of pre-school institutions shall be obligatory for every child between the ages of 3 and 6, except in those cases where parents can testify that their child is in safety at home.

After the Act the network of pre-school institutions increased. In those cases where the local administrations were not able to establish and/or maintain the institutions, the Church and the State took over the expenses. Though on the eve of the First World War only 15 percent of the children between 3 and 6 visited various pre-school education establishments.

1900 At the turn of the century some male teachers were still active, though the feminization of pre-school teacher's profession had become a fact.

1918 The State took over the maintenance of the Training College.

1919 During the 133 days rule of the Hungarian Soviet Republic a reform of pre-school education was planned, too. The name of the institutions changed: playschool.

After the defeat of the revolution the conditions became unfavourable for early childhood education. Even the publication of the periodical for pre-school teachers was interrupted /up to 1926/.

1926 Change of pre-school teachers' training. Four year course at secondary level /from 14 to 18/.

1930 Maria Montessori visited Hungary. /Her second visit was in 1936./

1936 According to the amendment of the Pre-school Education Act /of 1891/ public pre-school education became instead of the supervision of the Ministry of Education the province of the Ministry of the Interior. The supposed reason for this change was that the kindergarten has a sanitary not an educational character.

1938 According to the data of this year 1140 pre-school institutions / kindergartens and infant asylums/ existed in the country. On average 70 children were under the supervision of one teacher. /In 1920 existed 923 institutions and the average was 50./ As consequence of the overcrowded classes the number of children attending the institutions amounted to 23.6 percent of the total age group of 3- to 6-year-olds.

1945 After the liberation of Hungary the first task was the rebuilding of kindergartens /destroyed during the war/ and, next, the setting up of new ones.

The direction of pre-school education became the responsibility of the Ministry of Welfare.

1948 Secularization of pre-school institutions /together with secularization of schools/.

1949 The Ministry of Education take over again the responsibility for public pre-school education.

1953 A new Pre-school Education Act came into force. The Act stipulates that the main task of kindergarten shall be to lay the foundations of child's education and to prepare children for studies in the primary school. Compulsory education starts at the age of 6.

In the same year was published a so-called "methodological leaflet," concerning pre-school education, by the Ministry of Education.

1957 The publication of a unified manual for pre-school teachers: Educational Work in the Kindergarten — Instructions for Kindergarten Teachers.

1959 Teachers' training for kindergartens at the level of higher education /two years course after high-school graduate; from 18 to 20 years of age/.

1971 Publication of a kindergarten education programme. The programme contains chapters on the aim and objectives of kindergarten education, on how to take care of children, on how to organize their community life in the classroom, a special chapter deals with the play of the child and with his work-activity, and a great part of the remaining space is taken up by detailed directions about instruction in the kindergarten. Subject matter is organized as follows: mother tongue; physical education; knowledge of the environment; elements of mathematics; tales and poetry; drawing and manual work; singing and music. The programme also gives directions concerning the planning of instruction.

The programme was, in the following years, supplemented by a system of various didactic aids and tests.

1985 According to the new Education Act pre-school education is a part of civic rights for children from 3 to 6./ The number of children attending the kindergarten raised up to this year to 93 percent./

Compiled by Ottó Vág

Part VI

PERSPECTIVES ON LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY ISSUES

Veterinary Medicine From 1850 Until 1890: The Bogus Practitioners

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The history of veterinary medicine from 1850 until 1890 was a colorful narration of American entrepeneurs at their best. It was a time when obsolete medical ideas clashed with newer scientific theories. It was a time when individualism resisted societal demands on conformity. It was a time when the pressures of urbanization challenged the rural ways of isolationism. It was the beginning of industrial America. It was the beginning of the end of the "rugged individualistic" way of life.

The nucleus of American society during this interesting era lived on farms. America was an agrarian society. The backbone of the nation was the farmer. The farmer illustrated the living example of what made this country great: independence, resourcefulness, and above all else, pride. In 1850, approximately 1,449,000 farms totaling 293,543,000 acres were under cultvation to produce enough food for the population of the United States of 23,361,000 people.[1]

Prior to the federal governments' enactment of laws in the 1890's regulating veterinary medicine, this field of medicine had an enormous impact on the farmer. Whenever the farmer was confronted with serious maladies to livestock, the standard treatment of these ailments were usually found with an amalgam of superstition and folkways.

Eternally faced with the natural hazards which preyed on farm animals, there was the ever acute danger of an epidemic. Striking quickly, and without any warning, a disease could infect all animals in a matter of days, or in the case of cholera, in a few hours. Once this dreaded disease had infected the animals, it usually ran its course creating dissention among the helpless farmers. Many times, not only was there danger of the loss of a farmer's entire herd, but the animals of the surrounding community could be devastated.[2]

In an effort to deal with animal ailments, the highly resourceful farmer would usually turn to home remedies. Most medicines consisted of imaginary "hokus-pokus," fortified with the most vile mixture of ingredients. Occasionally, the farmer would consult an old almanac for assistance.[3]

The more literate farmer could read one of the agricultural journals being printed. These journals usually devoted several columns to helping farmers with animal diseases. Unfortunately, the majority of the "cure-all" information printed, was home remedies sent to them from other farmers.

Since plague and disease took such an enormous toll on the midwest farmer, the number of bankruptcy suits filed was higher than in the east. Even the lost of a team of horses in many cases could be enough to reduce the farmer to financial insolvency. In addition, the laissez-faire policy of the federal and state governmental agencies did nothing to assist the farmers in their plight.[4]

Seizing upon an opportunity to take advantage of these ever present difficulties, a group of unqualified veterinarian opportunists came into existence; they were uneducated, untrained and were often referred to by qualified veterinarians as the "bogus practitioners."

Pre-eminent among the infamous practitioners of the day, three main groups were identified: individuals who specialized in horses were called "hoss doctors"; those who specialized in cows were commonly known as "cow-leeches," and the third group called themselves "veterinary surgeons." Even though each group signified a different field of veterinary medicine, they all had similarities: they were completely unscrupulous, preying like vultures upon the conditions and superstitions of the times.

Most of these charlatans had a background connection in some way with livestock. This could come in any form of association, whether it was in the duties of a stable boy, apprenticeship to a blacksmith, or possibly only the knowledge obtained from reading a farmer's farrier handbook. Unfortunately, the unsuspecting farmer not only accepted these bogus practitioners as qualified veterinarians, but also believed in the make-believe diseases and cure-all medications espoused by them.[5]

Due to the limited knowledge of husbandry by the farmer, the majority of these so-called veterinarians were accepted into this rural society and thereby, became reputable practitioners. The ultimate consequence was that they became so entrenched within the social structure of the prairie states, that it took nearly fifty additional years before the farmers who accepted them, rejected their quackery. It took the same length of time before federal laws were enacted and enforced to regulate the practice of veterinary medicine and certification of veterinarians.

The most well-known and accepted of all bogus practitioners was the infamous "hoss doctor." His status was held in higher esteem than the others, because of the high value placed upon horses. Other livestock never received the same status as horses. Due to the value placed on horseflesh, the "hoss doctor" was able to obtain greater respect for his work, as well as compensation for services rendered.[6]

As the westward expansion moved farmers and their animals into uninhabited rural areas away from urban cities, the situation became ideal for the "hoss doctors" emergence. Using the limited knowledge he had obtained about horses, he was able to "bluff" the unsuspecting farmers. Relying on familiar remedies which were basic among farmers, he earned his reputation as a qualified veterinarian.[7]

Once having obtained a so-called "reputation" as a "hoss doctor" with a farmer, he could rely on him to spread his qualifications to neighbors in the surrounding community. Before long, not only was his reputation enhanced, but his qualifications as a veterinary doctor. This word-of-mouth advertisement campaign gave him acceptance to the community beforehand. In this manner, it was not very long until he had acquired an immense following without any real foundations to his merit as a veterinarian.

Perhaps it was the extremely hard life on the western frontier which was reflected in the attitude of the farmer in the way he treated livestock, but savagry was the rule and not the exception when treating an ailing animal. Not to be outclassed, the "hoss doctor" had in his repertoire, some of the most brutal indignations ever tried in the curing of diseased livestock: bleeding, blistering, firing, and outright torture.[8]

Since the beginning of medicine, man had used the term "bad blood" to enable him to describe any sickness unknown to him, with the ultimate treatment being that of bloodletting. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, man had acquired the sophistication to realize that the taking of human blood did not achieve any practical results in the curing of diseases. So, he abandoned the practice. It had been barred as inhumane to make man suffer this humiliation. But unfortunately, this was not the case with animals.

Bloodletting in animals was generally the preferred cure for almost any ailment that afflicted a poor beast. However, the letting of blood in the animal was not just simply the taking of a small quantity. Rather, the opposite. The blood was measured in the quantity of quarts. Most farmers and "hoss doctors" felt compelled to have a graduated bucket, carefully measured to show the quarts of blood extracted from the poor beast.[9]

The following is a vivid description of the technique:

> Let the vessel be present as to catch the blood fairly and not trickle down the sides, whereby the manner of its coagulation is affected. The jugular vein being sought for where it is largest and nearest to the surface. This will be found by pressing it with the fingers; when it has been found, take the fleam between the forefingers, with the thumb of the left hand and pressing gently upon the vein below, with the other finger the vein will rise, then strike with stick or spring, as the case may be and contitue this pressure until the proper quantity of blood is drawn off. It is not necessary

> to add, the fleam should be clean and in good order.[10]

The above instruction in letting of blood was usually standard among both the novice and the "hoss doctor." Quite often, the animal was bled until it staggered. It was not uncommon for horses to die of bloodletting. If the horse survived the bloodletting, they would simply pull the skin around the orifice together and stick a pin through the membrane. The horse's head would be secured, so the wound could not be rubbed open and infected. If the symptoms still persisted, a second bloodletting was administered; occasionally, even in the same day. Instructions always called for a large orifice rather than a small one. The larger hole produced a much better flow of blood.[11]

If the animal died, the "hoss doctor" informed the farmer he waited too long before notifying him; recovery always reflected on the skills of the bloodletter. Either way, recovery or death, the reputation of the bogus practitioner was never tarnished.

Being a person endowed with extreme resourcefulness, the "hoss doctor" furthered his repertoire of cures: firing and blistering. The acceptance of these treatments in lieu of the standard method of bleeding, depended upon the attitude of the community in which he was working.

When the "hoss doctor" felt the need for blistering was apparent, he relied on turpentine to accomplish the job. Occasionally, he might make up his own concoction so long as it produced the same results. The implements used in firing were of the crudest form and shapes, having no scientific design to them.[12]

The first symptom of a disease in an animal was the stimulus that sent a farmer in search of the local "hoss doctor." Completely ignorant of what disease had stricken the animal, the farmer had to rely on the "hoss doctor's" identifying the ailment. And name it he did. Whenever confronted with an ailment, the "hoss doctor" would invent an imaginary disease and label the animal as having been infected by it. As this practice became apparent among the bogus practitioners, they began to associate certain symptoms with a name and eventually those names to these imaginary diseases became real.[13]

One such disease was Lampas, a name given to the natural phenomenon of teething. When a horse is in the process of teething, the gums become inflamed and thereby, retard the horse's appetite. Being aware of the loss of appetite and the swollen gums, the "hoss doctor" is called upon to cure the ailing animal.[14]

After observing the symptoms, and if the opportunity presented itself, the "hoss doctor" would pronounce the disease as Lampas. The cure for it was always unhesitatingly the firing iron. Heating the iron until it turned a glowing white, the bogus practitioner would thrust it into the horse's mouth and sear the entire area. The nauseating smell of burning flesh would fill the air. If the horse did not show signs of recovery, then a second firing was administered as soon as possible.[15]

Permitting these beasts no mercy, the "hoss doctor" created another mouth disease, wolf-teeth. When the primary teeth were being replaced by permanent ones, there was a tendency for the horse's eyes to become bloodshot. This condition was due to the inflamation of the head of the horse which produced excessive blood into the eyes. This reddish cast was quickly diagnosed as wolf-teeth.[16]

The humane way was to simply remove the primary teeth and make room for the permanent ones. One could grasp the tooth with a pair of forceps and gently pull the tooth out. However, here again, the brutality of the times was prevalent in the way the "hoss doctor" removed the teeth. Armed with a heavy hammer and a counter punch, he would place the implement on the tooth and strike it with a hammer. There is evidence that too many horses became permanently injured and vicious, trusting no humans near them.[17]

The most sadistic method employed by any "hoss doctor" was the one used for the cure of what was known by the folk term as hook. After a long hard winter of being cooped up in the barn on a wooden floor, the horses in the spring are turned out into the pastureland. Naturally, being unaccustomed to walking on the uneven turf, the animals staggered until they could acclimate themselves to the land formation. Not waiting for this adjustment to take place, the "hoss doctor" would quickly diagnose it as hook. The difficulty lay in the eye and the cure was to cut out the inner eyelid. The end result was usually the complete mutilation of the eye, and thereby, the horse's sight.[18]

Next to the "hoss doctor," in the category of importance, was the village "cow-leech," who mainly tended the ailments of cattle. He too accorded himself the privilege of exploiting the farmer.

Of all cattle diseases treated by these "cow-leeches," real or imaginary, only two were outstanding enough to be mentioned in professionally reliable medical journals read by veterinarians. The appellation of hollow horn and wolf tail or more commonly tail ail, were broad terms used in diagnosing ailments in cattle.

When the cow first showed signs of illness, the "cow-leech" would immediately examine the horns, as the extremities were often the only source of investigation. The visual part of the horns appears to the average person to be a solid mass, but close examination would reveal it to be quite the contrary. The horns of cattle have four layers of epidermis wound over each other. When they are drilled through the center, it is hollow. Upon discovery of this hollow portion of the horns, the "cow-leech" figured this to be the focal point of the disease. In a feeble attempt to cure the animal, he would pour a mixture of turpentine and other ingredients into the hole of the horns. The pain of boring into the horns would be the same as if a gimlet was pushed through the finger nail of a human and out the other side of the finger.[19]

The tail was the second extremity believed to contain a series of illnesses. Concentration on this appendage by the "cow-leech" probably resulted from the fact that the tail was the second logical part of the animal to be used for experimentation. The physical structure of the tail is composed of small bones which diminish in shape near the extremity of the tail and is surrounded by gristle. When disease is present in the animal's body, the tail relaxes and it appears as if the bony substance has disappeared. On this pretension, the "cow-leech" declared the bones had been eaten by a suppositional worm, and the diagnosis was wolf tail or tail ail.[20]

The treatment of this disease was to take a sharp knife and slit the tail approximately six to eight inches along the path of the "so-called" infested area and remove the contents from the tail. Sometimes into this orifice he would pour a home remedy concoction, which many times increased the suffering of the dumb beast. If by chance the cow dies, the "cow-leech" would rationalize that the worm had penetrated too far into the animal and there was nothing anyone could do for the poor creature.[21]

Even though these practitioners were lacking in trained veterinary medicine and animal physiology, the farmer turned to them in desperation for help. No assistance was available from state or governmental agencies. In fact, their attitude was one of complacency. These quack veterinarians helped to fill a gap that had been created by the lack of qualified ones.

The last category of bogus practitioners were the "veterinary surgeons." Their professional qualifications were similar to the other two groups. The one outstanding advantage they possessed over the others was a diploma. With this diploma they would capitalize on the respectability of a "sheep skin" to the public. In one case, a Doctor McClure of Philadelphia, offered for the sum of $135.00, a qualified veterinary medicine diploma. In reply to his offer, one man from Dyersville, Iowa, asked if by chance, for that price, could several English veterinarians sign the diploma, as he would be able to impress the local farmers.[22]

A legitimate veterinary surgeon, writing in the *American Veterinary Review*, said that everyone knew that these bogus veterinarians had no professional training and made no pretense of being educated, but the appearance of a diploma somehow inferred that he was not only qualified, but sanctioned by the state. It concerned the author that the authorities had not become alarmed at this practice and did nothing to protect the public against this quackery. Furthermore, these people who called themselves "veterinary surgeons" should have justified their title in practical application and not through receiving their expertise by some "diploma mill" in the east.[23]

Throughout the decades from 1879 to 1900, a myriad of material on veterinary medicine was being published in an attempt to relieve the farmers of their predicament caused by epidemics among livestock. This information appeared in articles in farm journals and occasionally books. A few respectable medical men who, in the interest of science, attempted to educate the farmers in the mysteries of medicine. Unfortunately, most of the advice was written by quacks who possessed no knowledge about the intricacies of veterinary medicine.[24]

At the same time these bogus articles were appearing, qualified veterinarians were finally attempting to give the farmer sound medical information. One such crusader was Dr. George H. Dadd who was the founder of the *American Veterinary Review* in 1851. In each of his numerous books he devoted an entire part to the sole purpose of exposing quackery in the field of veterinary science. He further encouraged the various governmental agencies to take appropriate legal action in an effort to protect society against veterinary frauds.[25]

Additional literary help appeared in *The Illinois Farmer*, *Michigan Farmer*, *Nebraska Farmer*, *National Live-Stock Journal*, *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, and *The Prairie Farmer*. Usually a column was devoted entirely to problems concerning veterinary medicine. The format was either the question and answer style written by an interested farmer to an inquiry, or the more sophisticated column written by a qualified veterinarian.[26]

Naturally, the question and answer column lacked qualified medical information. A farmer, upon discovering an ailment affecting his livestock, would write to the journal describing the symptoms and request a reply. Another farmer who recognized the symptoms, wrote to the journal telling of the solution he tried. This entire transaction between the farmers would remain impersonal and was extremely time consuming.

A typical illustration of this type of correspondence would tell of a farmer describing an ailment of his horse. Some time later in the same journal he would read that another farmer had diagnosed the symptom as ringbone. The cure was also given.

> Clean away the hair and soak the leg in cold water. In choosing between blistering and firing you must be guided with the extent of the disease. If you choose blistering, make sure the animal cannot reach the blister and you can re-blister in a week. Firing should be used in extreme cases.[27]

This advice from one farmer to another, as is noted, was still as barbaric as any treatment offered by a bogus practitioner.

Occasionally, farmers would write into the various journals and offer advice about techniques that they had employed in the fight against a disease. Even though no one had requested this knowledge, the writer believed that it might benefit someone in the future. Most farmers saved these journals in the hope that the solution to one of their present problems might be in a back issue.[28]

The most forward looking journals and newspapers hired a qualified veterinarian to write a medical column. They usually answered inquiries addressed to them. A few would write their columns on common problems. An enormous amount of time was consumed in an endeavor to educate the farmers about the imaginary diseases and malpractice of medicine practiced by the bogus practitioners. They believed that through exposing these fakes, the farmers would come to realize the absurdity of their thinking, seek out qualified veterinarians and receive legitimate help.[29]

One attempt at educating the farmers was to make a comparison between the old barbaric rituals with those of the more accepted scientific ways. In one such comparison, "hollow horn," and "tail ail" were proven to be imaginary diseases. Gradually, the practice of bogus veterinary medicine came under public criticism.[30]

The relentless effort and fortitude of these early crusaders began arousing the public's interest toward enacting laws to regulate the practice of veterinary medicine. The scientific theories were not taking the place of their antiquated predecessors: ignorance and barbarism.

By 1890 laws regulating veterinary practice had either been enacted or were being considered in the states of the nation. This was the beginning of a long struggle for the creation of a veterinary profession and the scientific basis for the treatment of livestock diseases. The days of the bogus practitioners were now numbered. Americans were experiencing the modification of superstitions and folkways by the introduction and acceptance of science and technology into the rural areas of America.

Notes

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[3] *National Live-Stock Journal*, XII (June, 1881), p. 263.

[4] *Ibid.*, XII (April, 1874), p. 255; *The Prairie Farmer*, II (Chicago), February 11, 1874, p. 53.

[5] *National Live-Stock Journal*, I (January 1871), p. 37; *The Prairie Farmer*, XXI (February 15, 1868), p. 100.

[6] B.S. Bierer, *A Short History of Veterinary Medicine in America* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1955), p. 89.

[7] D.W. Salmon, "Veterinary Frauds," *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, XXXVII (May 11, 1878), p. 295.

[8] *National Live-Stock Journal*, I (September, 1870), p. 2; *Ibid.*, I (January, 1871), p. 137.

[9] John Hinds, *The Veterinary Surgeon; or Fairriery Taught on a New and Easy Plan* (Philadelphia: John Griff Publishing Company, 1834), p. 15.

[10] William Youatt, *The Horse* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1834), pp. 459-461.

[11] *Nebraska Farmer*, I (April, 1860), p. 77.

[12] *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, XXXVII (August 24, 1878), p. 539.

[13] D.W. Salmon, "The Imaginary Diseases of Animals," *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, XXXVII (June 15, 1878), p. 375.

[14] *The Prairie Farmer*, V (January 21, 1874), p. 61.

[15] *American Agriculturist*, XXXX (New York), July, 1881, pp. 271.

[16] *National Live-Stock Journal*, X (August, 1879), p. 340; *Ibid.*, II (August, 1880), pp. 332-333.

[17] *The Prairie Farmer*, V (February 21, 1874), p. 61.

[18] D.W. Salmon, "Veterinary Frauds," p. 295.

[19] *The Prairie Farmer*, V (February 21, 1874), p. 61; *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, XXXVII (August 24, 1879), pp. 538-539.

[20] *National Live-Stock Journal*, XII (April, 1881), p. 157; *Nebraska Farmer*, II (March, 1878), pp. 36-37.

[21] Thomas Brown, *The Complete Modern Farrier* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1898), p. 1; *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, XXXVII (June 15, 1878), p. 275.

[22] *American Veterinary Review*, (New York), November, 1877, pp. 302-303.

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[24] *National Live-Stock Journal*, XII (June, 1881), p. 233.

[25] George H. Dadd, *A Practical Treatise on the Most Obvious Diseases Peculiar to Horses Together with the Direction for Their Most Rational Treatment: Or the Horse Owner's Handbook* (Chicago: Lord and Smith, 1865), See introductory remarks.

[26] *Nebraska Farmer*, I (January, 1877), p. 6, *National Live-Stock Journal*, I (March, 1871), p. 213.

[27] *Nebraska Farmer*, I (May, 1874), p. 591.

[28] *The Union Agriculturalist*, III (Chicago), March, 1844, p. 22.

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"Educational Engineering": Business Influence and Progressive Education in the Dayton Public Schools, 1908-1929

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Society became increasingly concerned with education, especially public education, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although prominent schoolmen like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard helped to establish public school systems in Massachusetts and Connecticut before the Civil War, most states did not establish adequate school systems until the mid to late nineteenth century. But once begun by the 1870's, drives to provide universal primary public education rapidly gained momentum. Between the Civil War and the First World War most American communities established "common" school systems, providing at least some form of primary and secondary education free to their children. As the country's industrial economy matured, Americans in the late nineteenth century found literacy to be a basic requirement for more and more jobs. Moreover, as the country's population flooded with immigrants, American communities could no longer assume their residents shared a common religion or a common language. Schools then, were a necessity, institutions with the responsibility to teach not just basic skills necessary for economic survival, but values basic to the American way of life. Particularly in urban areas, they assumed functions once performed by families, churches, and masters teaching apprentices. By 1918, every state had passed compulsory education laws. Eight out of ten children between the ages of six and fifteen were in school. A new, very important, American institution had emerged. In almost every line of work, apprenticeship had declined drastically or was dead. Instead, American children and young people went to school.[1]

But the quick growth of the American school system was accompanied by criticism. Too many schools, some charged, were physically unsafe, overcrowded, and unsanitary. Students crammed into these inadequate structures often spent their days memorizing outdated information, which they shouted back on command from their teachers. Too often they studied "classical" subjects like rhetoric or Greek, rather than subjects which would prepare them to contribute to society and lead a useful life.[2] Moreover, school systems were wasteful and inefficient, headed by "narrow-minded pedants."[3]

In this climate of criticism, the Progressive Education Association organized formally in 1919.[4] The phenomenon which contemporaries called progressive education, however, preceded the establishment of the Association. John Dewey's famous Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, established in 1896, was, by then, over twenty years old. Dozens of other small private experimental progressive schools dotted the country. The emphasis in these schools was on "child-centered education": programs for learning which allowed children to develop at their own pace, motivated by their interests rather than fear of punishment for breaking rigid rules. Teachers were to be guides and friends, not task-masters.[5]

Moreover, many large public school systems adopted dramatic changes also described by contemporaries as progressive. Cities such as Gary, Indiana approved a series of innovations, nationally promoted as the platoon or Gary Plan, that attempted to make schools more efficient and less costly to operate while more responsive to the needs of different student populations. Saturday schools, night schools, and vocational schools, among many others, expanded traditional grammar and high school curriculums.[6]

Given this variety, not surprisingly, contemporaries differed in their judgments about the worth and even definition of progressive education. Was progressive education a wonderful effort to make education more humane, a movement that stood for "the right of every individual to the highest physical, mental, spiritual and social development of which he is capable"?[7] Was progressive education instead a silly effort by dreamy radicals to give inexperienced, immature children, "too much freedom"?[8] Or was this movement which repeatedly emphasized the need to connect school and society something else altogether? Were the supporters of curriculums which provided students with useful skills and prepared them to cope with the problems of everyday life actually the leaders of the "exploiting class?" Were they really business magnates most interested in preparing workers ready to take their places in the new industrial order? Adherents of this view, such as journalist Upton Sinclair, argued that powerful business interests supported school "reforms" because they wanted malleable "goslings" who would "goose-step" to factories and offices.[9]

Scholars have raised no significantly new interpretations of progressive education not first debated by contemporaries. Progressive education as a noble experiment in encouraging creativity still battles progressive education as business conspiracy. And in all research, the business community, though always present, remains vague, a powerful, amorphous entity to which school administrations responded. In the still inadequate numbers of works studying progressive education, John Dewey, William Wirt, Nicholas Murray Butler, and a host of other progressive educators emerge as clearly-drawn, complex individuals. Businessmen and the business community never do. But any attempt to grasp the complicated nature of progressive education must acknowledge business influence and take business leaders out of the shadows.

The progressive education experiment in the Ohio Miami Valley that affected the greatest number of children took place inside the Dayton public system. An examination of the nature of and influences behind progressive education in Dayton helps illuminate the business community's role in that experiment. It also seeks a resolution to the contradictory interpretations of progressive education so long simultaneously in vogue.

At the turn of the century, Dayton schools reflected patterns common to growing city systems throughout the Midwest and East. The city had one public high school, but its existence was still a question for debate. Public interest in the school was not great. A high school, even if free, was still a place where the favored few who could afford so to delay their entrance into the labor market prolonged their education. Between 1870 and 1890 the attendance at the high school varied from 250-300 students, this during years when the city's population itself boomed, increasing from some 55,000 people to over 81,000, and when, by 1890, there were more than 12,000 young people between the ages of fifteen and nineteen available to form a pool of potential high school students.[10] The high school emphasized a traditional curriculum of Latin, German, Greek, philosophy, history, algebra, and rhetoric. It was tauntingly known as the "Girls' School," since the overwhelming majority of its pupils were young women preparing to be schoolteachers. In 1880, for instance, the high school enrolled 87 boys and 151 girls. Most children who attended public school at all went to one of a dozen district grammar schools, where they left their fixed desks only to stand and recite.[11]

By the time the Great Crash ended an era, a whirlwind had swept through the system. In the late nineteenth century, students at the high school had only one choice of study: a fixed curriculum heavily reliant on classical subjects. By 1927, they had seven alternatives: General, Commercial, College Preparatory, College Preparatory in Engineering, Cooperative Industrial, Cooperative Retail, and Cooperative Commercial.[12] High school education had become varied, divided into strikingly different tracks, with a huge new vocational high school added to six other high schools and junior high schools. To supplement the district schools, which had expanded greatly in number, a system of free public kindergartens emerged after 1921. Moreover the school system, which at the turn of the century, had been very simple, twelve to fifteen elementary schools and one high school, had twenty years later become a complex urban bureaucracy, with seven high schools, 27 elementary schools, 24 manual arts centers, 27 domestic science centers, 28 kindergartens, a public school for the deaf, six night schools, which admitted adults as well as working teenagers, and 33 "special schools," included schools for juvenile delinquents, as well as handicapped, gifted, and retarded children. The Dayton population had grown enormously, more than doubling to almost 190,000 by the end of the twenties, but the growth of its student population far outstripped population growth alone. In 1880 fewer than 300 Dayton young people attended high school. By 1913, almost 1,944, and by 1927, 3,680 did. Similar, though slightly less spectacular, increases occurred in elementary schools.[13]

The Dayton business community played a pivotal role in promoting these changes. Was their involvement prompted by a desire to make "goslings" ready to "goose-step" to their assigned places in the industrial order? The answer to this very simple scenario, so heavily emphasized in recent scholarship, is no. That is not to say that progressive businessmen were unconcerned with training an adequate work force or forcing business-like management methods on school systems. But to outline a conspiracy in which progressive education in the public schools was "a tragedy in American education" engineered by businessmen, overstates the case.[14] Such an interpretation simultaneously exaggerates the influence of the progressive business community and understates its concern for a just as well as an orderly society.

A prominent Dayton businessman, John H. Patterson, President of the N.C.R. Company, provided the city with its first taste of progressive education. In 1891 he endowed the city with a school where practical skills and subjects were to be taught. Among the new teachers hired for the school was Edwin Brown, a Dayton native and the first male graduate in the then thirty-year history of the Normal School the city had established to train teachers in 1869. In Brown, Patterson found a discipline and ally, the man to engineer major change in the Dayton public schools.

Between 1891 and 1908, the Patterson School flourished. Still privately funded by Patterson himself, the school's range of classes expanded, including among others: mechanical drawing, machining, carpentry, applied chemistry, and millinery.[15]

As much as it welcomed his substantial donations of money and equipment, the Dayton school board did not view Patterson's wishes as commands. The fight for "progressive education" was a lengthy one. In part that was so because the school board itself was in conflict at the turn of the century, split about the direction public education should take. Its numbers ranging for ten to fifteen members, the Dayton Board of Education included ministers, lawyers, a dentist, farmers, former teachers, as well as businessmen. Full transcripts of its meetings for the years 1899-1908 no longer exist, but scattered evidence, including information included in its *Annual Reports,* indicates conflict, both support for and concerted opposition to change. As Superintendent W.J. White remarked in 1899 "the timidity of the teacher accustomed to the former methods" could pose a real barrier.[16]

Edwin Brown, who in his years of teaching at the Patterson School had come to know John H. Patterson personally, and who believed the N.C.R. president to be a "gentleman . . . whose every influence is for the good of all our institutions," clearly belonged to the faction that wanted change.[17] In 1908, a bitterly-split school board elected Brown as the system's new superintendent. Teachers and their adherents on the board seem to have been his most vocal enemies. Thirty-seven years old when he became Superintendent of Schools in 1908, Edwin Brown was dead only eight years later, killed by a heart attack.[18] But during his relatively brief tenure he had managed to revolutionalize the Dayton school curriculum.

He introduced an elaborate program of night schools attended yearly by an average of three thousand students, mostly young boys who had to work during the days, and recent immigrants seeking occupational skills and a place to study English. The manual training programs of the system assumed a much larger importance. Stivers Manual Training High School, able to accommodate 2,000 students, opened. Dozens of Miami Valley industries participated in the Cooperative and Continuation Schools, where each year about a hundred boys worked part time at factories and attended school during the day from four to ten hours a week on factory time to supplement night school training. Brown founded an extensive summer school program and a network of special-purpose schools, such as the School for Backward Children, and the schools for deaf and crippled children. About the only identifiable group of children in the city population left to languish were black children, whose segregated schools received little attention from the new superintendent.

Ironically, given his own great obesity, Brown constantly preached the progressive education dictum that education should nourish the whole person: body as well as mind. His system won a national reputation as an innovator in the use of playgrounds. Brown equipped schoolyards with swings, slides, baseball diamonds, and other amenities and mandated that they stay open not just during school hours, but at night and on weekends.

"Open Air School Rooms" made their appearance, where temperatures were never over 58 degrees unless it was warmer out of doors. Charts kept of student weight gain and general health in these rooms convinced Brown that they were more healthful. By 1914 they were common, though not universal, throughout the system. The new superintendent introduced medical and dental inspection and provided free dental care for elementary school pupils whose parents could not afford it.[19]

Also in keeping with progressive education's faith in logic and science, Brown inaugurated an elaborate program of intelligence and "efficiency" testing for public school students. Even kindergarteners were not spared. They may have thought they were only playing with crayons, but their teachers were, no doubt, watching them carefully, in order to be able to answer question 2-H on a five page form. An ability to handle a crayon with "easy, light movements" indicated according to this "child-measurement" form, "development of power of initiative."[20] A whole host of activities were to be categorized. Tests asked for judgments about everything from children's abilities to hop rapidly to their interest in planting seeds.[21] As Dayton public school pupils matured, the pace of testing only increased. By the time they reached high school, most had been tested at least once-yearly to determine their intelligence and interests.

School buildings, under the new regime, were to be city "social centers." In advance of most school systems in the state, the Dayton Board of Education adopted a resolution agreeing to a plan to make the buildings in the city system available to the general public, both during and after school hours. Public groups could meet in school buildings, provided they had applied two days in advance to the Board of Education. No political or religious discussions were to be held, and school janitors were to be compensated by the outside groups for their extra work. And, as Brown planned, the schools did become "social centers" for the community. Most evenings, school buildings stayed open as numerous groups showed films, hosted lectures, held debates and regular business meetings.[22]

After Brown's death, Frank Miller, a Dartmouth graduate, acted as Superintendent of Schools. Miller neither dismantled or greatly expanded Brown's structure. His interim leadership ended in 1921 when he chose to enter state government as an adviser to the governor's office on educational matters. To replace him, the Board of Education hired Paul Stetson, a man already nationally known in education circles for administrative innovation.[23] Stetson, whose reputation as an efficiency expert preceded him, came to Dayton from a superintendency at Muskegan, Michigan. By late 1929, when he left Dayton on his way up the ladder to yet another larger superintendency, at Indianapolis, Stetson had refined and completed the educational revolution begun by Brown.

Since Stetson taught at the University of Chicago during summer breaks and served frequently as a leading consultant on school surveys organized by state governments and the National Education Association, the Dayton system received wide publicity as a "model." Journalists and educators frequently visited its schools, "looking for good things, never disappointed."[24] Stetson's superintendency, embodied the key elements of progressive education: a search for efficiency, a faith in science, a commitment to expansion of education to include vocational, physical, and health, as well as academic subjects, a commitment to open the schools to the community.

His drive to create a more efficient school system led Stetson to campaign successfully for a major reorganization of school administration. Prior to 1921, there had been few middle managers between school principals and the school superintendent. Principals generally reported directly to the superintendent and retained considerable authority. By 1928, a new, more complex hierarchy existed. Over the course of several years the Board of Education had approved its new superintendent's suggestions and divided the system into departments. Rather than a circle of dozens of relatively autonomous schools reporting to a superintendent, a pyramid emerged, a system divided into Departments of: Primary Education, Upper Elementary Education, Visiting Teachers, Secondary Schools, Athletics and Physical Education, Publications, and Business Management. Nowhere was the concern for efficiency so clearly manifested as in the new Department of Business Management. No longer were principals of separate schools able to contract individually for janitors or hire cooks for their lunchrooms. Rather the system's new business manager, John Graham, was the authority to whom they sent their requests. Graham's office centralized not only janitorial and cafeteria services for the system, but also coordinated all purchasing, all building construction, all building maintenance and repairs, and all transportation.[25]

Building on Brown's legacy, Superintendent Stetson also emphasized health and physical education, expanding the medical inspection system and programs of testing students regularly to determine mental and physical development. Stetson had from the beginning of his term as Dayton superintendent a large construction budget, having the pleasant inheritance of a $3,000,000 bond issue for school construction passed by municipal voters in 1920, to which he added other monies granted by voters in 1923, 1924, and 1926. In his first two years as superintendent alone, Stetson presided over the construction of a new junior-senior high school and four new elementary schools. In all these buildings, architects hired by the school board had strict instructions to pay attention to the needs of physical fitness. They designed "healthful" heating and cooling systems and for every new building provided landscaping, playgrounds, gymnasiums, and running tracks. The new high school featured the almost unheard-of luxury of an indoor natatorium with several swimming pools.[26]

Vocational and non-traditional education, as well as physical education, received emphasis. The programs begun in the 1890's at the Patterson school, and incorporated into the school system by Edwin Brown after 1908, reached maturity. In the school year, 1926-1927, the night schools peaked with an enrollment of about 5,000 teenagers and adults, who studied everything from Shakespeare to automobile repair. The cooperative high school system enrolled hundreds of young people, the majority boys, though girls could study cooperatively in secretarial and retail selling programs. By 1924 pairs of students alternated, each one working one week at a shared outside job, attending classes full-time the second week. Naturally enough, given its birth under N.C.R. Company sponsorship, the cooperative high school had first emphasized the metal trades, helping boys to combine work as apprentice machinists, patternmakers, or tool and die makers, with schooling. By the late twenties, the cooperative high school had expanded in many directions. Students could work, for instance, in part-time jobs in retail selling, carpentry, brick-laying, and plumbing, among other occupations and trades. In all cases, advisory committees of business owners and master tradesmen played important roles in setting policies for the programs, known within the framework of the cooperative high school as "extension schools." By 1928, scores of stores and factories participated, agreeing not only to the unusual shared job framework, but providing scholarships to enable some students to work only part-time, and, often, providing classroom and office space.[27]

Such an expansion of the schools into the community would have pleased Edwin Brown. Paul Stetson continued that emphasis with a vengeance, helped by his new Department of Publications. The Director of the Publications Department, Elizabeth Kennedy, admitted to a visiting journalist, the department might "better be named the Bureau of Public Relations." And, indeed, the Dayton school system did pioneer in the field of educational public relations, distributing dozens of pamphlets and newsletters, each year sending all parents of children enrolled in the system nine monthly issues of its magazine, *School Progress*. Stetson expected Kennedy, moreover, to be his "official public fixer." She had the "delicate" task of negotiating with newspaper reporters and editors to try to get them to portray the schools in a favorable light. She was to be the system's representative for a lengthy list of civic events, showing the public that the schools cared about everything from Thrift Week to the Municipal Dog Show.[28]

This new structure faced a crisis by the end of the decade, however. In 1927, for the first time, voters rejected an appeal for additional money. They turned down a one mill levy by a small margin, 13,230 for and 14,656 against.[29] The system, which peaked in 1927-1928 with a total of 165 schools and 1188 teachers on the payroll, began to cut-back. By 1929 the Department of Publications was gone. Most of the summer schools closed. The night schools and special schools curtailed many courses of study. The system offered fewer physical education, art, and music classes. And teachers lost their jobs, as Stetson mandated increases in minimum class sizes at all levels: to an average of forty students per class in elementary schools, an average of thirty-five in junior high and thirty in senior high classes. Beginning in 1928, the financial crunch forced administrators to issue dismissal notices to at least ninety teachers a year.[30] Stetson himself, no doubt less pleased to be heading a system in retrenchment rather than expansion, left.

By the time the Depression hit in full force in 1929, the heady optimism of the early twenties had already faded. And the hard years that followed the crash were not ones which allowed the dream of creating a perfect progressive public school system to revive.

Contemporaries blamed overconfidence for the failure of the school bond issue in 1927. Dr. H.B. Millhoff, President of the Board of Education, cited the "light vote."[31] Indeed, a very small number of voters set into motion a chain of events that led to over a decade of severely reduced school budgets. For years voters had approved bond issues by comfortable margins, and school administrators had become lulled into expectations of automatic victory. They had spent little if any time campaigning for the bond issue, neglecting to note that the other financial issues on the ballot involved road levies that had been vociferously opposed by a vocal group opposed to the routes the proposed new roads would take. Most voters snoozed through the November, 1927 elections. The few who came out probably were motivated to vote "no" to road levies, which were defeated overwhelmingly. Many probably allowed their negative mood to cause them to check the "no" box for the school levy as well. Chastened school officials vowed to organize and bring the issue back to voters. But, unfortunately, by the fall of 1929 voters caught in the first month's panic after the Great Crash were not willing to approve extra spending for schools, roads, or anything else. Important to note was the fact that the public never really delivered any clear repudiation of the changes in the Dayton school system engineered by Superintendents Brown and Stetson. The 1927 election seems a case of overconfident school administrators not bothering to get out the vote. By 1929 time had run out. For the next decade hard times, not anger at educational change, fueled public unwillingness to continue to spend so lavishly on the schools.

In fact, an examination of progressive education in the Dayton public schools does not reveal the simple patterns of business conspiracy outlined by contemporary radical critics and still in favor among numbers of scholars of education. Clearly, the business community was a major force behind the revolution that swept through the Dayton schools in the early twentieth century. Paralleling a national pattern pointed out so quickly by contemporary economist, Scott Nearing, businessmen did, between 1906 and 1928, gain an increasing number of seats on the city's Board of Education, a majority by the early 1920's.[32] Also, paralleling developments in other cities, Stetson succeeded in 1922 in his efforts to win voter approval for a reduction in the number of those seats, to only five. And the men those five board members chose as superintendents were deeply committed to the goal of creating a more business-like school system. Indeed, they were men who thought of themselves as businessmen. C.J. Schmidt, Clerk of the Board of Education, searched in 1926 for words to use to eulogize Edwin Brown. He could think of no higher praise than to say that the superintendent was ". . . more than an educator, he was a businessman in every sense of the word."[33] Clearly, Paul Stetson's national reputation as an efficiency expert did not hurt his chances in 1921 with that same Board of Education. Even a browser in the reports and publications of the school system during these years would be struck by the near-omnipresence of the phrase, "businesslike."

Increasing business influence in education, then, undoubtedly formed part of the central matrix of progressive education in Dayton. But that influence did not necessarily pit businessmen against a wary public. In fact, the educational changes were largely popular. There were perpetual waiting lists for classes in practical subjects like brick-laying and automotive repair at the night schools.[34] The cooperative high school programs were intensely competitive, accepting fewer than half the students who applied. Clearly the educational system was class and income-bound. The businessmen on the Dayton School Board were not promoting identical opportunity for all. They did not provide the children of their workers with the same kind of chances they provided their own children. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to see efforts like cooperative or vocational education as simply selfish attempts by business to create a better-trained and compliant work force. Such an interpretation unnecessarily demeans the intelligence of that potential work force, which, in Dayton at least, was able to use the schooling providing for its own purposes. Was a worker who wished to make more money with skills learned at a vocational high school simply a cog in a business conspiracy? And the chance to advance occupationally was not a chimera. An amazingly high percentage of cooperative high school students during the twenties did get good jobs or further education past high school. Helped by a program of factory scholarships, some thirty percent went to engineering schools or colleges. Graduates attended among others, Cornell, Cincinnati, Ohio State, Purdue, and the University of Pennsylvania. And a significant number became colleagues of their former businessmen sponsors.[35] While it was certainly in the business community's advantage to support an educational system that produced graduates with skills and attitudes suitable for the American corporate system, it was also to the advantage of those graduates. The fact that school enrollment increases far outpaced population increases in Dayton during the first two decades of the twentieth century was testimony to a more complex reality.

The opposition to the new system did not come from the general public opposed to vocational guidance or other innovations. Most importantly, it came from teachers. In small and large ways administrator-imposed rules invaded their classrooms. Not only were they to stop everything to engage in three minutes of exercise at 10:50, they were to follow administration-approved syllabii and give administration-approved lessons and tests. They found their days interrupted by a whole host of administration-planned activities, from dental inspections to mandatory school-wide participation in Thrift Week rallies. Moreover, neither of the two important administrators during this period paid enough attention to good relations with their teaching staffs. Many teachers considered Edwin Brown, for instance, "harsh and oppressive."[36] Even some of Brown's supporters agreed that he "preferred to hurt feelings rather than resort to evasion."[37]

Whether public school teaching had ever allowed teachers real control of their classrooms, is, however, an open question. Nineteenth century common schools featured a great deal of rote memorization from approved texts. They also featured poorly-educated teachers and powerful school principals. Teachers who disliked Brown or Stetson may have been responding to their new supervisor's arrogance as much as a loss of autonomy, which in a genuine sense may never have existed. Interestingly, these two men, who realized that the Dayton public had to be wooed, who even, under Stetson, created a public relations office, did not cultivate their own teaching staffs sufficiently. More importantly, by the end of the decade of the 1920's, teaching conditions had indeed deteriorated, as administrators facing budget cuts increased class sizes and teacher work loads.

The Dayton system, while permanently changed in important ways, retrenched. Progressive education failed to survive intact. Business influence was crucial in explaining the course of progressive education. Also crucial was the idea that schools should prepare for life by participating in life. However, by the late 1920's that participation in life included participation in economic hard times. And the heady optimism about human potential that fueled progressive education did not fare well in hard times.

Notes

[1] Given the importance of the phenomenon, there is still a great need for additional serious scholarly attention to be paid to roles played by and changes in public education in the period 1865-1929. Even the most recent monographs still focus attention on a few large city systems, which, in important ways, may not be typical of national patterns. But among the best of the still too-few monographs on American education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are: Michael Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and the Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York, 1975); Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); Edward Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920* (New York, 1964); Patricia Graham, *Community and Class in American Education* (New York, 1974); Selwyn Troen, *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System* (Columbia, Mo., 1975); David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); Paul Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1975); Paul Peterson, *The Politics of School Reform, 1870-1940* (Chicago, 1985); David Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[2] See, for example, E.T. Armstrong, "Is Our Present High School System Efficient?" *American School Board Journal* 62 (July, 1910): 394; "Some Defects in Our Public School System," *Educational Review* 63 (March, 1911): 238-244; Ella Lynch, "Is the Public School a Failure?" *Ladies Home Journal* 29 (August, 1912): 3-5; William Mearns, "Our Medieval High Schools," *Saturday Evening Post* 184 (March, 1912): 18-19.

[3] Frederic Burk, "Are We Living in B.C. or A.D.?" *Ladies' Home Journal* 29 (September, 1912): 7.

[4] Proceedings of the Progressive Education Association, Convention held at Dayton, Ohio, April 8-9, 1921, typed transcript, Series VIII-D, Arthur Morgan Papers, Antioch Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. [Hereafter, 1921 Proceedings: Morgan Papers, AEM].

[5] The standard work tracing the development of the progressive education movement is: Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education* (New York, 1962).

[6] The best book on the Gary experiment is Ronald Cohen and Raymond Mohl, *The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling* (Port Washington, New York, 1979).

[7] **1921 Proceedings.**

[8] For an example of such complaints see: Joseph McKee, "The Gary System," *Catholic World* 102 (January, 1916): 513.

[9] Upton Sinclair, *The Goosestep: A Study of American Education* (Pasadena, Ca., 1923), 275-299.

[10] For discussions of nineteenth century urban schools see: Carl Kaestle, *The Evolution of an Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); William Bullough, *Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age: The Evolution of an Urban Institution* (Port Washington, New York, 1974); David Tyack, *The One Best System*. For a summary of conditions in the Dayton schools see: *Annual Report of the Dayton Board of Education, 1897-1898* (Dayton, Ohio, 1898), 135-148. The printed and transcript *Annual Reports* are at Archives and Special Collections, University Collections, Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio. [Hereafter, the *Annual Reports of the Dayton Board of Education* will be cited, Education, WSU.]

[11] *Ibid.*, 142.

[12] 59-60, 1926-1927, Education, WSU.

[13] *Ibid.*, 90-99.

[14] Raymond Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, 244.

[15] For a brief history of these activities see: "Special Report of the Superintendent," 1912-1913, 85-96, Education, WSU.

[16] "Special Report of Col. W. J. White," 1898-1899, Education, WSU. The *Annual Reports* for the period 1898-1908 provide listings for board members. For further information about particular individuals see: R. L. Polk, (ed.), *Williams Dayton, Ohio City Directory* (Taylor, Michigan) for years 1890-1929.

[17] "Report of Superintendent Brown," 1913-1914, 115, Education, WSU.

[18] *Dayton Daily News*, January 11, 1916.

[19] The only school in the system that was integrated was the school for juvenile delinquents and other wards of the court. The best available summaries of Brown's work appear in the yearly "Reports of the Superintendent," 1909-1915, Education, WSU.

[20] Anna Littell, "Report of the Supervisor of Kindergartens," 1913-1914, 108, Education, WSU.

[21] The system continued into the 1920's. For an evaluation of it written by new Superintendent Paul Stetson, see, "Report of the Superintendent," 1921-1922, 52-53, Education, WSU.

[22] "Rules for Social Centers," 1912-1913, 95-96, Education, WSU.

[23] Stetson published regularly on such subjects as efficiency in schools and had earned a wide audience among educators by the time he came to the Dayton system in 1921. See, for instance: Paul Stetson, "Some Examples of Efficiency in School Business Management," *American School Board Journal* 55 (December, 1917): 17-18.

[24] William McAndrew, "Rapid Review of an American School System," *Educational Review* 75 (January, 1928): 1.

[25] "Business Department of the Dayton Board of Education Reorganizes," *American School Board Journal* 73 (December, 1926): 70-71.

[26] Paul Stetson, "The School Building Program of Dayton, Ohio," *American School Board Journal* 70 (March, 1923): 67-69.

[27] "Report of the Superintendent," 1926-1927, 65-72, Education, WSU.

[28] William McAndrew, "Rapid Review": 3.

[29] *Dayton Daily News*, November 9, 1927.

[30] "Report of the Superintendent," 1927-1928, 75-80, Education, WSU.

[31] *Dayton Daily News*, November 9, 1927.

[32] See, for instance, Scott Nearing, "Who's Who on Our Boards of Education," *School and Society* 5 (January, 1917): 89-90.

[33] *Dayton Daily News*, January 11, 1916.

[34] "Report of the Superintendent," 1916-1917, 96, Education, WSU.

[35] William McAndrew, "Rapid Review": 2-3.

[36] *Dayton Daily News*, January 11, 1916.

[37] *Ibid.*

"Spreading the Gospel: The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education in Ohio, 1907-1912."

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Introduction

The conventional wisdom of progressive era histories identifies a rise in voluntary reform associations that sets this period apart from others. A remarkable similarity of interest group activity at local, state and national levels is one distinguishing characteristic. Interlocking directorates of prominent progressives comprised the executive boards of many reform groups. Memberships were often drawn from an array of professionals, businesses, manufacturers, industrialists and labor unionists. As the national reform effort grew in intensity, progressives began to rely upon the effectiveness of their local chapters to carry their campaigns forward.[1]

The National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) is a case in point of a highly centralized and bureaucratic lobby. It offered a three-tier dues structure for members: guarantor ($100/annual), sustaining ($25-$100), and associate ($2-$25) which contributed the bulk of its operating funds for salaries and publications.[2] The executive council consisted of a General Secretary, Membership Secretary and District Secretaries for states that were grouped by region (Southern, Ohio Valley and New England). In 1908, NCLC had sixteen employees in its four offices (New York, Atlanta, Cincinnati, and Boston) as well as one full-time staff photographer.[3] It based its major operations upon local committee efforts in passing state by state child labor legislation. By 1912, NCLC had twenty-seven affiliated state and local committees, 6400 members and an annual budget of $60,000.[4] Although NCLC changed its focus towards the enactment of federal child labor laws, the importance of local chapter support was never minimized. In fact, the Ohio Valley region was so powerful that at one time it threatened to split the Committee in half with one office in Cincinnati and the other in New York City.[5]

Industrial education reformers, not unlike other social welfare associations in the progressive era, depended upon the strength in numbers of its local affiliates. By bringing together a variety of businesspersons, labor leaders and educators, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (NSPIE), the predecessor of the American Vocational Association, served as an umbrella organization for activities geared to the educational, industrial and social "conditions and sentiments" of the differing regions.[6] Begun in 1906, by a group of manual training educators, NSPIE set out to find an educational solution to the problems of unskilled youth.[7] Like NCLC, NSPIE had a three-tier dues paying structure, executive officers, a board of directors (called managers), and a procedure for establishing state committees. After just one year of its operation, NSPIE claimed a federation of thirty-eight state committees. But there the similarities end. NSPIE growth rate was dismal. Low memberships (900 in 1908; 1098 in 1909; 1180 in 1910) seriously impaired the operating budget. For example, the total 1907 annual income of $7535 was needed for office rental, a part-time executive secretary, travel funds and publications. Subsequently, the executive board was forced to solicit private donations, borrow funds and share office space.[8] Early on, NSPIE leaders recommended the methods of campaign propagandizing that were based upon a sound knowledge of local industrial conditions coupled with an ability to "preach the gospel of practical education for efficiency whenever the opportunity might arise."[9]

Beginning in 1907, a group of Ohio businessmen and educators organized a NSPIE state committee devoted to publicity for industrial education and agitation for "dual" control. Advocates of "dual" control promoted the idea of two separate and distinct administrative structures for public education, i.e., one for common schools and the other for vocational schools. Industrialists, in particular, endorsed the separation of vocational education from the existing common school system because it offered them greater representation on local school boards. The active participation of businessmen in trade training programs through a "dual" system of administration gave them access to the daily operation and management of schools. Opponents of "dual" control feared that a separation of educational structures would result in the isolation of existing school authorities and the segregation of pupils along class lines.[10] The Ohio NSPIE state committee, centered in Columbus, introduced several industrial education commission bills in the state legislature which called for an investigative study of industrial training needs. Although the commission bills failed in Ohio, they represented a formative stage in the national movement for "dual" control which culminated with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Bill (1917).

By examining the relationship between NSPIE and one of its state branches (in this case Ohio), this paper will present a clearer picture of the internal difficulties of a progressive era reform campaign as it unfolds. First, it will explain the lack of a clearly defined national policy which hindered state chapter recruitment efforts. Then, it will describe the difficulty in obtaining support services from the national office. Finally, it will conclude that the failure of the Ohio chapter was symptomatic of the general resistance to a dual system of public instruction. As a result, the National Society began to turn towards more effective means, i.e., passage of congressional bills, for the backing of vocational education.

The Problem of Policy

Policy direction from the National Society of its state branches was not officially explicated. In fact, the states were left pretty much to their own in this regard. Although the terms of state affiliation were spelled out by the NSPIE constitution and by-laws, advice as to who should constitute its membership roster was a vague declarative suggesting any residents of the state could join who also happened to be interested in industrial education.[11] This made it all the more difficult for state chapter leaders to look to the national office for guidance relating to recruitment. However, Ohio chapter officers carefully monitored national trends and events surrounding industrial education as they developed.

The historic conflict between labor and capital regarding progressive era support for industrial education is well known.[12] The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) belief in private trade schooling brought businessmen and industrialists into prominence. NAM's desire to control the industrial education movement, for anti-union purposes, helped fill the NSPIE roster in its early years. With a shift in focus towards public vocational schooling, NAM membership fled from the Society. By the time of the fourth annual NSPIE convention (1910) manufacturers were conspicuous by their absence.[13] American Federation of Labor (AFL) unionists were continually wary of the direction of industrial education reform. UMW President John Mitchell's hasty resignation (December 1906) from the NSPIE executive board was a clear indication that organized labor was not yet ready to enter a tripartite relationship with industrialists and educators.[14]

These events did not go unnoticed in Ohio. Chapter Secretary William T. Magruder (Chapter President in 1909), Chairman of the Engineering Department at Ohio State University, disapproved of the lack of labor representation on the NSPIE Board of Directors.[15] Magruder's desire to bring order to a diversified constituency is a continuous theme in Ohio NSPIE's history. He told NSPIE Vice-President and General Electric executive Magnus Alexander that "much can be gained and nothing lost in including them [labor]." His criticism of businessmen dominating the Board was further evident in correspondence with one Cleveland manufacturer, who believed that labor leaders, in general, were law breaking rabble-rousers. Magruder wrote: "The great trouble with the NSPIE at present is that there are too many men in it who are unwilling to deal with the labor leader, the agriculturalist, and the rank and file of the educator as their equals."[16]

Ohio NSPIE's obeisance to organized labor is an important factor in the development of state chapter building. Ohio's unionized labor force had an established voice in the state legislature. The Ohio Federation of Labor (OFL), a lobbying organization of over four hundred affiliates representing 40,000 workers, was particularly skillful in securing social welfare legislation. From 1909-1912, thirty-four labor backed bills successfully passed the Ohio General Assembly.[17] Obtaining the support of over 40,000 unionized state miners comprised another formidable challenge for Ohio NSPIE.[18] Mine worker delegates regularly participating in annual OFL conventions, often controlled large blocks of votes.[19] Yet, the National Society never seriously considered vocational instruction for mining occupations (as well as farming) and were uncertain if they could be classified as "mechanical trades."[20] Nevertheless, Ohio NSPIE placed two labor unionists on its sixteen member board of directors.[21]

Ohio NSPIE was composed primarily of urbanites. Its 1909 membership roster shows a total of sixty-three members with the majority residing in the state's four largest cities: Cleveland (15), Cincinnati (9), Columbus (8) and Dayton (3).[22] However, Ohio NSPIE officials were concerned that the message of industrial education was not reaching the agricultural population via the successful state lobbying efforts of the Grange. In 1910, almost one-half (44.1%) of the 4.7 million inhabitants of Ohio lived in rural areas.[23] The state's 272,045 farms represented three-fourths of the entire land mass of Ohio.[24] Small rural districts held considerable legislative strength in the Ohio General Assembly. For example, in the State House (78th General Assembly), 60% of the congressmen served counties with less than 50,000 inhabitants.[25] Ohio NSPIE desperately needed the support of agriculturalists in its legislative campaign.

Although the National Society attempted to address a broad constituency, issues of concern to agricultural educators were either downplayed or deferred.[26] In 1907, agricultural interests supported the Davis Bill in Congress which called for the establishment of industrial training in secondary schools. National Society leaders refused to commit their organization to supporting this measure. At this time, NSPIE was still committed to a state by state campaign as the best means for securing vocational education legislation.[27] As a result, agriculturalists hastily organized a rival association called the National League for Industrial Education (NLIE). Begun by New York publisher Herbert Myrick, NLIE was organized to generate publicity for passage of the Davis Bill.[28]

Ohio NSPIE, fully aware of the newly formed National League, responded with utter disbelief that NSPIE officials would fail to accommodate agricultural educators.[29] Again, Magruder wrote to NSPIE Vice-President Alexander admonishing him for stacking the executive board with too many manufacturers and educators. Magruder suggested that the National Society should "broaden out" its officers to include equal representation by agriculture and labor. Alexander replied that Magruder was simplistically looking for some mathematical proportion. "The problem of industrial education," Alexander wrote, "must be worked out by a co-operation of all forces, and I am afraid we do not further this co-operation particularly by constantly watching the numerical strength of representation of classes."[30] If this tete-a-tete was any indication, a strained relationship between the Ohio State Branch and its national office was developing.

The Problem of Support Services

By 1908, thirty-five members comprised the Ohio committee.[31] In January 1909, the sixty-three member Ohio committee was converted to an official NSPIE state branch. State branch status (for chapters with over fifty members) offered far more benefits than committee level. Fiscally, the branch could become self-supporting. In addition, a networking arrangement with NSPIE provided for periodic circulation of memorandums and regular distribution of published bulletins. Ideally, this seemed to be an attractive package for state branch conversion.

The Ohio State Branch depended upon National Society membership dues to fund its political activities. In addition, chapter officers tried to avail themselves of the clerical resources at the national office. NSPIE directives and communiques, emanating from New York City, were always sent by letter or telegram. Rarely, if ever, did an official from the National Society make a personal visit to Columbus. For a fledgling chapter that might have felt neglected this approach could have brought greater attention to the importance of the Ohio State Branch. Columbus could have provided a setting for National Society activities. Magruder's request that Columbus be included in the fall 1910 US tour by Munich School Superintendent Georg Kerchensteiner was denied by the national office (Kerchensteiner went to Cincinnati as planned). As early as November 1908, when the State Branch was forming, chapter officers had hoped to get NSPIE Vice-President Magnus Alexander to come to the organizational meeting. But his itinerary, in February 1909, bypassed Columbus for Cleveland and Pittsburg. At one time, Columbus was even considered for an NSPIE convention. This would have given the Ohio State Branch additional opportunity for increasing memberships. But the fourth annual meeting was held in Boston instead.[32]

One of the largest difficulties between the Ohio chapter and the national office was the lack of continuity in permanent officers. It seems that once Ohio NSPIE had established a satisfactory working relationship with a national officer, then that position changed hands. Magruder's correspondence over a four year period reveals no less than five different NSPIE part-time secretaries.[33] Magruder would occasionally correspond with a NSPIE president or vice-president. However, there was no single liaison person that was assigned to work with the state branches. In October 1908, the NSPIE Board of Managers recommended the establishment of a national commissioner and resident assistants. It would be the duty of the national commissioner to visit each state branch and "by his personal and direct appeal awaken activity and crystallize it into concrete action for industrial education." The appointment of resident assistant commissioners in major cities throughout the United States was suggested as a way to develop local public support. They would become a conduit between the community and the National Society via the Commissioner. Due to a lack of funding this scheme was never implemented.[34]

Continual pressure was placed upon the State Branch in order to build memberships. Undeniably, this raised the level of tension considerably between both the national and state organizations. A feeling of ill-will towards the national office was heightened when Ohio NSPIE failed to receive the correct membership dues remittance from New York. For each new two dollar membership, one dollar would be given to the state chapter. As late as December 1910, Magruder complained that he had never received any of the funds. The question of fiscal solvency had always menaced the Ohio chapter. Ohio NSPIE felt that the national office was to blame for establishing a pattern of dues paying that gave NSPIE total control of reimbursement to the state branches. Instead of direct dues remittance to each chapter, all members were required to submit their annual fees to the national office. This policy, instead of facilitating local autonomy, made the state branches dependent upon a central treasury for fund dispersal. Furthermore, other membership classifications, such as sustaining member ($25 per year) and life member ($250), were primarily intended to build loyalty to the National Society. This rigid structure provided no incentive for local members to aid the development of their own state branches. One dollar would still be returned on every sustaining and life member. Magruder questioned this policy as handicapping both national and state branch growth. He wrote to NSPIE Secretary Haney explaining: "If the National Society wants it [$25] all, there will be no increase in the number of National Society sustaining members; whereas, if the state branch receives one-half or more than possibly there may be some increase of those who are willing to help both the National Society and the State Branch."[35] NSPIE membership policy was a form of fealty to the national headquarters. State branch development necessitated that local individuals be given the opportunity to offer "donations" signifying an allegiance to their own community. As it stood, NSPIE policy directly retarded state branch development.

Disaccord between Ohio NSPIE and the National reached a high point in fall 1910. National officers became concerned over the lack of growth in Ohio NSPIE. Their desire to begin a September membership drive, in coordination with the Ohio chapter, opened old wounds. The problems between the national office and Ohio NSPIE began over a year earlier. In March 1909 acting part-time NSPIE Secretary James C. Monaghan promised Magruder that he would send 5000 bulletins to potential members. Offering to coordinate the mailings from his New York office, Monaghan asked Magruder for a mailing list. In the meantime, the Columbus office sent out 5000 personal letters (at a cost of $200) explaining that NSPIE bulletins and application blanks would be forthcoming. By July 1909 Magruder realized that their "labor was in vain." Most bulletins never reached their destination. The national office claimed that their entire publishing run rarely exceeded 3000. This venture left Ohio chapter officials with egg on their face. In early September 1909 NSPIE asked the Ohio State Branch to help make the upcoming Milwaukee convention a success by "setting every wheel in motion." Magruder angrily retorted, "would you kindly take the brakes set by you off all the wheels set in motion by us last spring."[36]

On December 1, 1910 Magruder wrote to former Ohio NSPIE President Charles Howe stating, "The New York office did not seem to be at all disturbed by the inefficiency of the expenditure of this labor and money and for which they were responsible." In an attempt to smooth over their past differences, Howe, President of Cleveland's Case School of Applied Science, mediated the conflict between the national and state chapter. Realizing that there was "friction somewhere," Howe suggested that it stemmed from the secretary's office. He asked Magruder to relay the details of the 1909 membership drive to current NSPIE President James P. Monroe. Magruder made it perfectly clear to the national officers that any desire to increase Ohio memberships would require a greater commitment of time and money on their part.[37] Subsequent communications between Magruder and NSPIE Secretary Edward H. Reisner reveal a smoothing over of the problem.[38] The Ohio chapter was reimbursed for clerical expenses and the national office followed through with their promise of application blanks and literature. Yet, by early 1911, few new memberships resulted from this campaign.

Conclusion: The Failure of "Dual" Control in Ohio

Ohio NSPIE's failure to secure a dual system of administration of public education spanned four years of legislative drives. Initially, Magruder tried to get a state appointed commission to investigate industrial education. He hoped this commission, which was modeled after the Massachusetts plan, would eventually become the vehicle for administering and funding separate industrial schools within the state. Massachusetts, which organized the investigatory "Douglas Commission" on industrial education, used its new Commission on Industrial Education to supervise the establishment and maintenance of municipal vocational schools.[39] In 1908, Maryland authorized an industrial commission for one year to report its findings to the state legislature. Michigan also empaneled a Commission on Industrial and Agricultural Education from 1909-1911.[40] After two years of propagandizing for a commission without producing any concrete results in Ohio, Magruder switched tactics by proposing that a bureau of agriculture and industrial education be placed within the existing common school structure. This, too, was unsuccessful.[41]

Why did Ohio NSPIE legislation fail in the General Assembly? A partial answer lies in the inability to gather farmer's support for industrial schools. Ohio NSPIE couldn't build a convincing argument that separate vocational secondary schools were compatible with rural school reform. Rural school reformers were interested in practices which would consolidate and centralize their schools at a county level. The process of school modernization did not usurp the power or status of the existing educational system. In 1912, the state legislature authorized a commission to investigate the common schools. As a result, three members were appointed to conduct a state-wide survey of educational conditions including county supervision, teacher training, certification requirements, uniform consolidation and centralization of schools.[42] The survey recommendations brought about sweeping changes in the common school code which included new provisions for administering and supervising rural schools. NSPIE officials, realizing that the progressive agenda in Ohio was targeted toward common school reform, not industrial education which was left to the jurisdiction of local school boards,[43] backed off from further involvement within the state.[44]

NSPIE's relationship with its state branches exhibited the benign neglect of a national office that was geographically as well as politically isolated from its local chapters. In 1911, NSPIE tried to bridge this gap by hiring a full-time field secretary. The Field Secretary, J.H. Cone, was directed to "spread the gospel of industrial education" and remain in the community until "his message has had a hearing."[45] But Cone was virtually ineffective in covering the large amount of territory needed to mount a propagandizing campaign. His unfamiliarity with local and state industrial conditions was a cause of concern to some NSPIE members. Paul Kruezpointner, Chairman of the Education Committee of the American Foundrymen's Association, complained that one field officer could not possibly cover all the communities in any effective way. He suggested that NSPIE appoint a field officer for each state to be chosen from among the memberships of their own state branches.[46] Furthermore, he urged the National Society to "put itself on record" as to which type of industrial education it endorsed. In that way, Kruezpointner felt, local field officers would receive a much needed national policy in which to direct their efforts.[47] But the national office ignored these suggestions. Instead, they blamed Cone for the entire lack of progress in furthering industrial education legislation in the state branches. Charles Prosser, recently hired as Executive Secretary wrote: "So far as I can ascertain, Cone has accomplished practically nothing worth while. I am not so certain but what he has in a way retarded the game with us in Ohio."[48] In 1912, the Ohio State Branch disbanded. Other states had similar difficulties. Illinois was embroiled in the Cooley Bill which sought a dual administrative structure for vocational education.[49] One delegate to the Sixth Annual NSPIE Convention (December 5-7, 1912) complained about the "general apathy in the state of Pennsylvania towards implementation of vocational education."[50] By 1912, there were only three active state branches.[51]

The period from 1907 to 1912 were nascent years for National Society activity in publicizing industrial education. Slowly, NSPIE established guidelines for running an efficient operation. A national convention, originally held twice in 1908, became an annual event. The executive council and board of managers met regularly. National officers were elected to staggered one to three year terms which helped to ensure continuity in governance. A system of communications developed. Mail circulars, press releases, bulletins of the proceedings of meetings were published and distributed. Under Prosser's direction, NSPIE concentrated greater time and energy on securing federal aid for vocational education (which resulted in the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act). But, for

Prosser, the future of dual administration in vocational education through state-level chapter building was of secondary importance.

Notes

[1] Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 165-166.

[2] Walter I. Trattner, *Crusade for the Children* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 75.

[3] National Child Labor Committee, *Annual Reports* (1908), p. 210.

[4] Trattner, *Crusade*, p. 114.

[5] Ibid., p. 159.

[6] Carroll D. Wright, "The Work of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education" *Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science* 33 (January 1909): 17.

[7] "Industrial Education Society Organized," *The School Journal* 63 (December 1, 1906): 498.

[8] Sheldon J. Lloyd, "An Investigation Into the Development of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and its Role in Promoting Federal Aid for Vocational Education, 1906-1917," (Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1979), p. 52, 60, 73, 76, passim.

[9] Wright, "The Work of NSPIE," p. 15.

[10] For pro & con arguments surrounding this issue, see Louis E. Reber, "What Laws for Vocational Education Should Michigan Adopt? 'Dual' or 'Unit' Control?" and John Dewey, "Should Michigan Have Vocational Education Under 'Unit' or 'Dual' Control?" NSPIE, *Bulletin* 18 (1913), pp. 15-34.

[11] NSPIE *Bulletin* 7 (1908), pp. 22-24.

[12] For example, see Arthur G. Wirth *Education in the Technological Society: The Vocational-Liberal Studies Controversy in the Early Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1980), chapters 2 & 3.

[13] Entropy, "The Boston Educational Convention," *American Machinist* 34 (January 5, 1911): 16; "Industrial Education Convention," *Journal of Education* 72 (December 10, 1910):463.

[14] Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, "The Politics of Vocationalism: Coalitions and Industrial Education in the Progressive Era," *The Historian* 46 (November 1983):44-45; Lloyd, "An Investigation," pp. 32-33.

[15] In 1908, the twenty-seven NSPIE Board of Managers included thirteen manufacturers, ten educators and four labor representatives.

[16] Magruder to Alexander, January 31, 1908; Turner to Magruder, December 14, 1908; Magruder to Turner, December 21, 1908, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives.

[17] Patricia T. Rose, "Design and Expediency: The Ohio State Federation of Labor as a Legislative Lobby 1883-1935," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1975), pp. 26, 55-60, 101-103.

[18] United Mine Workers District #6, *Proceedings* (1910), p. 45.

[19] In the 1912 OFL meeting, state mine workers represented 10% of the total delegates and controlled 45 of the 349 votes. See OFL *Proceedings* (1912), pp. 11-12.

[20] Lloyd, "An Investigation," p. 57; Also, see Raymond M. Hyser, "Innovation in the Coalfields: The Evolution of Vocational Education in Ellsworth, Pennsylvania, 1900-1922," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 68 (April 1985):131-151.

[21] In 1909, Ohio NSPIE Board of Managers included 5 manufacturers, 5 educators, 2 labor, 2 social service, 1 agriculture and 1 clergy. The unionists were: Llewellyn Lewis, President of the Ohio Federation of Labor and G.V. Savage, Secretary of District #6, United Mine Workers.

[22] "List of NSPIE members," February 9, 1909, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives.

[23] Defined as the population outside of cities, towns and villages of 2500 inhabitants, see US Commissioner of Education, *Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 5.

[24] This figure indicates farm land that was listed as "improved" by the US census. Improved land is regularly tilled, mowed, pastured, fallow, gardened, orchards, nurseries, or land occupied by farm buildings. 30th US Bureau of the Census (Ohio Supplement), *Abstract* (1913), p. 639, 642.

[25] Clerk of the Senate, *Legislative Manual of the 78th General Assembly of Ohio* (1909-1910), pp. 242-245.

[26] Lloyd, "An Investigation," p. 40-41, 54-56.

[27] NSPIE leaders felt that before initiating a national drive the entire subject of industrial education required further study and investigation, see Melvin L. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education in the U.S.* (Peoria, Ill: Charles A. Bennett Co., 1967), pp. 55-56, 60.

[28] "For Industrial Education," *American Agriculturalist* 83 (January 23, 1909): 91; "National Industrial League," *New York Times* (January 15, 1909): 6c.

[29] Slowly, vocational educators came to the realization that secondary agricultural education should be taught as a trade, see "Two Kinds of Agricultural Education," *Vocational Education* 2 (May 1913): 428-430.

[30] Magruder to Alexander, February 9, 1909; Alexander to Magruder, February 27, 1909, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives.

[31] "List of Members-Ohio NSPIE," September 24, 1908, Magruder Papers, RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives.

[32] Magruder to Jeffrey, November 27, 1908; Magruder to McKinney, January 27, 1909; Turner to Magruder, February 1, 1909; Magruder to McKinney, January 17, 1910; Richards to Magruder, November 3, 1910, Magruder Papers, RG 40/1/5 & 6, OSU Archives.

[33] The earliest part-time secretaries were: Charles R. Richards, 1906-7; James P. Haney, 1908-9; James C. Monaghan, 1909; Mathew P. Adams, 1910; Edward H. Reisner, 1910-11.

[34] NSPIE *Minutes of the Board of Managers* (October 29, 1908), Magruder Papers, RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives. The eight major cities targeted for resident assistant commissioners were: San Francisco, St. Paul, Denver, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Atlanta and Cleveland.

[35] Magruder to Haney, January 20, 1909, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives.

[36] Monaghan to Magruder, September 2, 1909; Magruder to Monaghan, September 8, 1909; Monaghan to Magruder, September 13, 1909, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/5, OSU Archives.

[37] Magruder to Howe, December 1, 1910; Howe to Magruder, December 3, 1910; Magruder to Munroe, December 10, 1910; Munroe to Magruder, December 12, 1910, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/6, OSU Archives.

[38] Reisner to Magruder, December 10, 1910; Reisner to Magruder, December 12, 1910; Magruder to Reisner, December 15, 1910; Magruder to Reisner, December 16, 1910; Reisner to Magruder, December 19, 1910; Reisner to Magruder, January 10, 1911, Magruder Papers, Box RG 40/1/6, OSU Archives.

[39] Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 153-178.

[40] NSPIE, *BULLETIN* 12 (1910), pp. 27-33.

[41] The industrial education commission bills were: House Bill #1219 (introduced Feb. 28, 1908); HB #48 (January 19, 1909); HB #275 (February 7, 1910); Senate Bill #500 (March 2, 1908); Bureau of Agriculture & Industrial Education: HB #380 (February 27, 1911).

[42] Oliver J. Thatcher, "Education Reforms that Set a Whole State in Turmoil," *Survey* 31 (January 24, 1914): 494-495.

[43] Ohio NSPIE helped secure passage of this legislation (the 1909 Tuttle Bill) which allowed local school districts to raise tax levies for the teaching of manual training, domestic science, agriculture, commercial and trade and industrial schools.

[44] In October, 1912, Prosser reported to his superiors that it was unwise to push for vocational education legislation in Ohio, see Lloyd, "An Investigation," p. 129.

[45] Quoted in Edward H. Reisner, "Letter from NSPIE," *Vocational Education* I (September, 1911): 52.

[46] American Foundrymen's Association, *Proceedings* (1911), pp. 583-584.

[47] Ibid., p. 582.

[48] Quoted in Sheldon J. Lloyd, "An Investigation," p. 118.

[49] See David J. Hogan *Class & Reform* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 175-184.

[50]. Lloyd, "An Investigation," p. 134.

[51] In 1908 there were eight state branches: Alabama, Georgia, Massachusetts, Montana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia. By 1912 there were three: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York, see NSPIE, *Proceedings* (1912), pp. 304-305.

"'Blest Be the Tie that Binds': Mary Evans, 'True Education', and the Young Ladies of the Lake Erie Female Seminary, 1869-1909"

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"True education is for all the powers of body and soul. The higher education in the true sense of the words will never separate from the interests of common life," Mary Evans asserted firmly in an article written for the *Western Reserve School Journal* in the late nineteenth century. Evans' ideal was really quite simple. She advocated the broadest and most liberal type of education available in her time. Emphasizing the positive in both traditional and alternative life roles, Evans urged her young ladies to be educated in every aspect of their lives and endeavored to prepare them for whatever future roles they might choose.[1]

Such an ideal was not a new one for this educator who addressed the issue for over fifty years in both philosophical and practical terms, in word and deed, and in New England as well as Ohio's Western Reserve. In her attempt to provide such an education, Evans continually updated her institution's standards as well as her personal ones in her effort to prepare young women for their chosen future and aid them in stretching the boundaries of women's sphere in a way that would allow them to function comfortably within their own nineteenth century world.

Evans herself was a living example of a woman who had stretched traditional boundaries to make a meaningful life for herself. We know little about her early life. According to various newspaper clippings, she was born on February 11, 1841 in Philadelphia and was adopted by Quaker friends in Woodbury, New Jersey. She studied at the "noted" private school of Miss Carrs' in Philadelphia prior to attending Mount Holyoke.[2] Graduating in 1860, Evans was invited to join the faculty of her alma mater as an instructor in Latin, History, and, later, Gymnastics until, in her own words, "by an unexpected change of plans and an uprooting of most cherished associations . . . the year 1868-1869 began for me in Painesville."[3]

Located in the eastern half of Ohio's Western Reserve, Painesville was the home of Lake Erie Female Seminary which had been consciously established as a Mount Holyoke-daughter school in 1859. A majority of its faculty and administration were alumnae from Holyoke or its daughter schools and such a hiring practice would be the norm for over half a century. From 1868 through 1909, Evans guided this institution from its seminary status to that of a small, private women's college, ever mindful of the students who were on the receiving end of her own broad definition of "higher education."

While the ideal to "be educated" seemed simple enough, implementation proved complex. Even as she refined the curriculum and admissions to rival collegiate standards and guided the construction of several new buildings, Evans cultivated the imaginations of her young ladies, instilled in them a love of beauty and nature, and introduced them to the alternatives that existed within their own female world. She adhered to the Mary Lyon-inspired goal of "training young women to the great usefulness" through a broad educational standard distinctive in its combination of education and culture with the home and domesticity.[4]

Such a combination was of continuous concern to Evans. As she maintained in an address at the dedication of the Woman's Building of the Michigan Agricultural College on October 25, 1900:

> The college home stands for the realization of an ideal of culture in college life. This ideal of culture is broader and better than the popular estimate . . . [it] combines the best of all times and places with what is best for our time and our land. It includes the liberal arts, the humanities, but excludes nothing that elevates humanity.[5]

Admission standards and curriculum were of obvious concern in such an educational system. Within a year of her arrival at Lake Erie, preparatory classes were dropped and eligibility for admission upgraded. At the same time the regular course of study was expanded from three to four years and the number of individual courses taken increased.[6] Although the course listing seemed relatively traditional, the methods were not. Students were encouraged to expand the offerings of the curriculum through experiential learning. In 1872 the *Painesville Telegraph* noted that:

> Several of the Seminary teachers and pupils attended court on Saturday of last week to hear the arguments upon a civil case. The ladies were evidently well entertained by the "limbs" and pleased with the law.[7]

On the part of the students, such experiences must have been a refreshing and inspirational change from the usual practices of the classroom.

Courses successfully completed were not the only mark of a well-rounded, well-educated woman. Evans addressed this belief in the Fourteenth Annual Report she prepared for the Alumnae Association in which she attributed the college ideal to that of "monastic seclusion and almost exclusive devotion to the intellectual" which had developed into the training of men for learned professions. Any training for women, whether by private instruction or boarding schools, had historically attempted to educate in "the home ideal of care and culture but often at the expense of intellectual breadth."[8] Earlier in the century, Mary Lyon of Mount Holyoke had developed a college ideal which included "attention to details of the household in a co-operation so dignified and systematic that Domestic Science and Sociology were in a measure anticipated." Although derided by others, Mary Evans did not succumb to the criticism anymore than had Mary Lyon.[9] She concluded strongly that time had proven the value of the domestic ideal in the lives of countless young women and that the need for such training had not been outgrown.[10] To this end she encouraged a harmonious blending of the college and the home through the boarding of both teachers and pupils in the school establishment and a team effort to aid in the domestic work of the seminary "family."

This formal statement of policy which appeared in the annual catalogue was somewhat softened by Evans' gentle implementation and domestic work often appeared as much a social measure as an economic one.[11] It was also an integral part of the curriculum. As Evans later noted:

> Culture has to do with personality, the young life to be trained for service. This is not alone a matter of textbooks and laboratories, but of inspiration through personal influence, nowhere felt so strongly as in the college home . . . The personal element in culture is further emphasized in college friendships, nowhere more true and lasting than when grown in the atmosphere of a college home where plain, everyday living together has been the soil from which have sprung some of the best joys of life.[12]

With such strong beliefs on the part of the head administrator, there is little wonder that the implementation of the domestic system developed into a Domestic Science department by 1897.[13] The introduction of such a course of study was meant to provide the young ladies with a logical, practical and scientific study of some of the problems of the home.

Just as the curriculum included topics relevant to living in contemporary society, so did Mary Evans' educational ideal include the world outside the seminary. After all, few, if any, of her students would find themselves cloistered away from the realities of everyday life and she wanted them to be prepared for their future circumstances. In an address to the College Club of Cleveland, Evans summarized her view of "The Twentieth Century Outlook on Education" maintaining that women's colleges "had passed beyond the severely educational stage, and were now reaching after broader ideals" such as health, enjoyment and "right living" as well as the more traditional areas of science and the classics.[14]

This view had been gaining popular support in education for over thirty years and had always been a part of Evans' philosophy which was implemented in several different ways, including the sharing of seminary events such as poetry readings, recitals and lectures with the surrounding community. Politics were a favorite form of dinner conversation and sometimes led to mock elections. In later years discussions of current events appeared in student editorials in the college magazine.

More so than politics and intellectual activities, religion was a major avenue for bridging such a gap. Since Lake Erie Seminary was nonsectarian, various pastors were invited to administer to the religious needs of the students and faculty. Some visited for only one or two sessions while others were engaged on a more regular basis. Professor Mead had recently joined the faculty at Oberlin College in the Chair of Sacred Rhetoric and attended the seminary on alternate Sabbaths while Professor Hiram C. Haydn of Western Reserve University and the Old Stone Church in Cleveland was also a regular visitor.[15]

Missionary work provided an additional bridge. Because of the religious connections of the seminary and its status as a Mount Holyoke daughter school from which so many female missionaries had come, the Lake Erie Seminary was a perfect stopping place for anyone on the lecture circuit. Most visitors repayed the kindness by speaking to the seminary family on the rewards and trials of their vocation. Such experiences were also available in special conferences. The young ladies participated in Y.M.C.A meetings in 1871 as well as in the Students' Missionary Convention in Cleveland twenty years later.[16]

Benevolent work was actively encouraged by Evans. Lake Erie girls responded not only to pleas for help from graduates working in missions throughout the world, but also to newspaper stories. After reading of the Chicago fire of 1871, the journal scribe wrote that "Miss Evans invited all to bring articles they wished to send to the sufferer . . . Soon an enthusiastic throng found their way thither and two large boxes were filled and sent."[17] Students and faculty were also cognizant of the needs of the surrounding community. The plight of the unfortunate of Chicago prompted them to find ways to alleviate the suffering of the homeless in Painesville by aiding already established societies.[18] Such deeds did not go unnoticed and were reported in the *Telegraph* with some regularity. In 1890 the paper noted that "in a quiet and unobtrusive way, the young ladies of the Seminary do considerable benevolent work, as many poor families in this vicinity can testify." The most recent incidents cited included the regular custom of raising "a purse" for the poor during the Thanksgiving dinner and the Christmas donation of $15.00 to the Temperance Rooms.[19]

Through such methods did Mary Evans implement her broad ideal of "True Education." But this was not the extent of "True Education." The individual herself was of prime importance in Evans' scheme and one of the ways she insured success for her graduates was through a program of healthful living.

Women's health had been an issue at the Lake Erie Seminary as early as 1859 when Catherine Beecher visited briefly and spoke to the faculty, cautioning them against allowing too little time for recreation.[20] But concentrated effort to provide instruction in good health and exercise grew slowly. It was Evans and Luette P. Bentley who gradually built the physical education program in response to their own concern for women's health. Evans' interest in the subject can be traced to her experiences at Mount Holyoke, particularly her exposure to Dr. Dio Lewis of Boston and her resulting appointment as gymnastics instructor at Mount Holyoke.[21] Bentley, a former Lake Erie graduate and science teacher, may have shared many of Evans' educational concerns just as she shared the administrative responsibilities. Bentley's specific interest in women's health is more difficult to discern but may have been encouraged by her aunt who was reputed to be a physician in New England.[22]

In the early years of her principalship, Evans, with Bentleys' help, concentrated on a variety of measures to encourage exercise, including the requirement of daily walks of up to two miles. Household tasks and errands in the four-story seminary building (without an elevator!) were considered supplementary exercise. Calisthenics were also given prime consideration as a form of physical training and their part in the curriculum was noted in the early seminary catalogs, despite occasional charges that they were a form of dancing inconsistent with the standards of the seminary. The focus on physical education and health grew steadily as Evans and Bentley spoke to the students and community groups on related topics such as practical hygiene and hygenic dressing.[23] By 1890, physical education had become so important that a plea for a gymnasium accompanied similar pleas for a new library and a science hall. The arguments listed for the new building included the old adage "A sound mind in a sound body."[24]

Although the building of the gymnasium itself was not realized for another thirty years, the physical education program continued to develop during that time. By 1898, each student was required to keep a daily register of her time spent outdoors whether in walking or in games.[25] That same year Sports Day was introduced as a new campus event and the newest feature in the exercises of Commencement week became Field Day for which many gathered to view a variety of sports of which the most interesting were reported to be the wheelbarrow, sack, and slow bicycle races.[26]

Although much of Mary Evans' educational ideal expanded to answer the needs of the new century, some things did not change, especially her concern with the lasting effects of friendship and family ties. In Evans' writing, it is impossible to distinguish her view of the difference between these two relationships. Possibly because of a lack of blood kin, her family as well as her friends consisted primarily of her students and colleagues.

Throughout her life, her social networking, to borrow a twentieth century phrase, was extensive. Evans most likely maintained such a sophisticated system for a variety of reasons ranging from the need to stay abreast of the developments in education, good publicity for her own institution, the opportunity to expand the horizons of her students, and most importantly, her abiding need and respect for friendship itself. Evans began constructing her networks during her days at Mount Holyoke where friendships between students were encouraged to alleviate homesickness, to facilitate more harmonious living conditions and to promote the bonds of womanhood. Moreover, once a faculty member, Evans served as Scribe for the "Mount Holyoke Journal" which was sent to the daughter schools. Through this instrument she met many educators and students, including those which she would someday be associated with at Lake Erie.[27]

Once away from Mount Holyoke, Evans did not abandon the friends she had made, but rather encouraged the tradition of the "Journal" at Lake Erie Seminary, often sharing the duty of scribe with one of her faculty members. Evans also maintained these contacts through personal correspondence and frequent visiting. The "Lake Erie Seminary Journal" is full of entries in which she was called away from the school to visit colleagues or attend ill friends. In 1871, such an absence which she had expected to last for three or four weeks extended to twelve.[28]

Evans' view of friendship was probably best illustrated in her ability to maintain relationships over time and distance as well as at home. Her friendship with Elizabeth Blanchard dated back to her days at Mount Holyoke while her relationship with Luette P. Bentley, her second in command at Lake Erie, extended through their forty years in administration, mutual retirement, and Evans' illness and death in November of 1921. An equally eloquent expression was Evans' book which was entitled *A Book of Friendship, Two Episodes in the Friendly Life*. This work was compiled from letters which she had written to various friends while visiting Isabelle Mayo, a longstanding friend in Great Britain, and was later completed by alumnae and published posthumously in 1925. The volume was dedicated to the "Blessed Memory of Mary Evans and Luette P. Bentley, Friends and Fellow Workers Through all the Years." The feeling for Evans was further elaborated on the frontspiece where her former students wrote:

> Throughout our country and in foreign lands there are not a few women to whom the thought of Mary Evans will always be a dear memory and a vital inspiration. To these, our sisters in spirit, we send these letters, and the memorial words of some who loved her well.[29]

Although sentimental, the thoughts expressed were not exaggerated. Even a quick skim through the alumnae catalogues and bulletins reveal the numbers and diversity of women who graduated during Evans' tenure. Some went into careers and others married immediately upon leaving the institution but many chose to teach or work in missions before settling down as wives and mothers. It is in the lives and ideals of these young women that Mary Evans' greatest impact lies. Because of this, one cannot deal with Evans' concept of "True Education" simply through an explanation of her philosophy and method of implementation. Indeed, one must assess Evans' students in an effort to gauge their response and the impact of the concept on their lives.

"The girls who gather here are earnest students . . . ," suggested an anonymous author in the November 1892 issue of the *Seminary Record*.[30] Such a statement could have been made countless times for the young ladies who attended Lake Erie Seminary and College between its founding in 1859 and the 1928 publishing of *The General Catalogue*.[31] Of over four thousand students, only 812 actually graduated, just over nineteen percent of those who entered. Such a percentage suggests that the majority of the seminary students were from local families who were taking advantage of the proximity of the institution but, while this was most likely true in some cases, perusal of the annual catalogues reveals a geographical range of student hometowns which reaches well beyond the Western Reserve.[32] Lake Erie Female Seminary was never just a local school, despite the fact that the founders were local businessmen who wished to begin a school for the daughters of their community.[33]

The diversity of the students educated in Evans' concept of "True Education" was more than geographical for Lake Erie students who graduated between 1869 and 1909 exhibited a diversity of choices in their life roles. Through the student magazine and the 1928 *General Catalogue*, one can determine that about two-thirds of the young ladies married while the remainder did not. Of those who married, just over one-half bore children. The choice to marry and have children did not, however, determine the outer boundaries of these women's lives. Almost one third of these young ladies pursued additional schooling after graduation. While one third of the total number of graduates chose marriage and the home as their only life role, another one-third chose to combine marriage and a career in some way, and the remaining one-third chose a career.

The careers themselves illustrate a degree of diversity. While teaching was understandably the most popular, Lake Erie graduates also chose careers as missionaries, social workers, secretaries, doctors and lawyers.[34]

Was such diversity the result of a broad ideal such as "True Education" and an implementation which encouraged personal choice? Too many variables could intercede to definitively answer such a question through the decisions of the graduates, however, preserved writings of the students themselves indicate that both Evans and her ideal were perceived as influential in many lives, no matter what the life choice. We are granted a glimpse at this response through the letters and articles written by students and alumnae and published in the college magazine, the *Lake Erie Record*. Such individual portraits can be further supplemented by the biographical material available in the *General Catalogue*.

The most revealing indication of Evans' influence over her students can be found in the "Editorial Foreward" to her *Book of Friendship* in which her former students speculated:

> Perhaps her first thought was to keep [the letters returned to her from her

> friends] as a journal of her year abroad, but later she formed a definite purpose of preparing these letters, with some additional matter, for publication. The last of her waning vitality was devoted to this task; but she left it unfinished. She must have visioned her graduates and students as her readers and we may well feel that the teacher and leader of our youth has sent to us a last message of the best joys of life, always illumined to her vision by a wide human sympathy and the touch of the Divine.[35]

Surely this conclusion did not come from Evans herself who had passed away in 1921, leaving, as the alumnae had indicated, an unfinished manuscript. Perhaps after a lifetime of caring and giving, it was only natural that these ladies felt that she was presenting them with one last gift, one last lesson on friendship and sisterhood. Such a conclusion could only come from and be accepted by students and colleagues who had viewed Evans as a positive force in their lives and were tied to each other through her educational concept.

The goal of "True Education" was to bridge the gap between domesticity and feminism and provide Evans' students with the opportunity to recognize their own potential and thus make choices about their lives. Rather than limitation and separate spheres, Evans promoted growth and breadth in an educational concept which encompassed all aspects of the individuals' life, no matter what role was chosen and including the challenges of day to day living. Just as her writings encouraged personal choice, so did her lifestyle. As an educated woman who never married yet devoted herself to her "family" at Lake Erie, Evans provided unspoken inspiration to all of her students, regardless of their plans to marry or not marry, have children or not have children, choose a temporary job or a lifetime career. And never once in the writings which are left to us did she criticize her students for the choices they made. Through it all, she promoted the bonds of womanhood in such a way that Mary Evans' students found themselves doubly bound *together*, but not *down*, through an educational concept as well as through their sex. As Mary Evans had told them in 1863: "Blest be the tie that binds."[36]

Notes

[1] Mary Evans, "The Higher Education," *Western Reserve School Journal* (n.d.): n.p. This was found in Mary Evans Personal Papers.

[2] "In Tribute," *Cleveland Topics*, 19 November 1921.

[3] Mary Evans, "A Gymnasium and What Led to It Sixty Years Ago," *Lake Erie Record* (December 1913):6.

[4] *Lake Erie Record* (November/December 1893):144.

[5] *Lake Erie Record* (November/December 1900):34-35.

[6] *Tenth Annual Catalogue of the Lake Erie Female Seminary in Painesville, Ohio, 1868-1869* (Painesville, Telegraph Job Office, 1868).

[7] *Painesville Telegraph*, 13 June 1872, p. 3.

[8] Evans, "The College Ideal and the Home Ideal," *Lake Erie Record* (November/December 1898): 45-47.

[9] "Lake Erie Female Seminary Journal, 1865-1875," 25 January 1869, typescript, pp. 34-35. MSS.

[10] Ibid., p. 45.

[11] "Lake Erie Seminary Journal," May 1874, typescript, p. 82. MSS.

[12] *Lake Erie Record* (November/December 1900): 34-37.

[13] *Lake Erie Record* (November/December 1898): 46-47.

[14] "Clippings Book, 1901-1909."

[15] Ibid., 22 March 1869, typescript, p. 51.

[16] Ibid., 8 June 1871, typescript, p. 63.

[17] Ibid., 24 January 1872, typescript, p. 58.

[18] Ibid., 24 January 1872, typescript, p. 58.

[19] "Lake Erie Seminary — Another Successful Term Added to its History — Interesting Items of the News Gleaned by the Telegraph," *Painesville Telegraph*, 31 December 1890.

[20] Haddad, p. 149.

[21] Evans, "A Gymnasium," p. 5.

[22] "Tribute — Luette P. Bentley." Pamphlet found in Bentley Papers.

[23] Meg Sondey, "Track and Field at Lake Erie College." MSS.

[24] "Seminary Recorder," Vol. 1, No. IV, 21 June 1890, typescript, pp. 116-117. MSS.

[25] *Thirty-Ninth Annual Lake Erie College Catalogue, 1898-1899* (Painesville, Ohio Painesville: Telegraph Office, 1899).

[26] *Lake Erie Record*, Commencement Edition (June 1898).

[27] "Lake Erie Seminary Journal," 25 January 1869, typescript, pp. 34-35. MSS.

[28] Ibid., 24 January 1872, typescript, p. 58. MSS.

[29] Evans, *Book of Friendship*, Dedication.

[30] *Lake Erie Record*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (November 1892), 76.

[31] *General Catalogue*, preface.

[32] "In Tribute."

[33] Mrs. Peter S. Hitchcock, "Lake Erie Female Seminary from the Beginning," *The Historical Society Quarterly*, Lake County, Ohio, 5:1 (February 1963), n.p. Lake County Historical Society.

[34] *General Catalogue*, Geographical Index, pp. 15-29.

[35] Evans, *Book of Friendship*.

[36] Mary Evans, "Mount Holyoke Seminary Journal," 12 September 1863-26 February 1864, typescript, p. 9, MSS.

Unless otherwise noted, materials for this paper can be found in the Lake Erie College Archives, College Hall, Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio 44077, 1-216-352-3361, ext. 385. Inquiries may be directed to Professor Gladys Haddad.

Part VII
SOME NOTES ON AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS

Education in Middletown
(Part of the Rest of the Story)

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As everyone knows, Muncie, Indiana, is "Middletown," the "representative" American community studied by sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd in 1925 and 1935,[1] and more recently by Theodore Kaplow and his team under the auspices of the National Science Foundation.[2] As such it has been cited frequently by educational historians of both the "traditionalist" and the "revisionist" schools of thought in support of their views. Two quotations will illustrate. Lawrence Cremin in *The Transformation of the School* reports, "The Lynds in 1925 found a school system that had changed subtly but substantially during the preceding thirty years."[3] Michael Katz, on the other hand, in *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools* says, "There, in the 1920's, the Lynds found an educational system virtually untouched by the theory and ferment of the preceding three decades."[4] What is the truth?

The fact is that neither Cremin nor Katz really know very much at all about the development of education in Muncie, simply because the history of education in Muncie has never been written. Cremin and Katz both base what they say about Muncie entirely on what the Lynds wrote, and the Lynds were not historians but sociologists. They did indeed draw some superficial comparisons with the 1890's, but only to emphasize what they saw as the unprecedented newness of Muncie's modern era.[5] And so they missed a great deal, not only about the past but even about that present in which they were so interested.

They missed, for example, the closeness, the cohesiveness (and also the exclusiveness) that accounts for much of what happens in Muncie even today. Life in Muncie is very much *local* life; local events, local people, local needs, ideas and concerns are at the center of Muncie's consciousness and its history; Muncie is really not very interested either in leading or in imitating the rest of the world — in fact, people in Muncie often seem to wish that the rest of the world would just go away.[6] If Muncie as Middletown is in any significant way representative of American society as a whole — and I must say that its educational history certainly does seem, in some ways, astonishingly representative — it is not because it intends to be, but simply because it is made up of the same ingredients and is acted upon by the same forces as affect the rest of our country. And if this is the case, then perhaps this same localism so characteristic of life in Muncie is also much more characteristic of American life and mentality than national writers generally realize. This may be one of the major insights which the study of "Middletown" has to offer educational historians.

During the past several years I have been gathering materials from which to write the educational history of Muncie. The information available is fairly extensive — it covers, after all, over 150 years — but it is scattered and diffuse, and much of it is difficult to get at for local political and sentimental reasons. People tend to want assurance that the data in question will not be used in a way that will embarrass them, and Munsonians (as they prefer to be called) are often easily embarrassed. Such attitudes toward information make the historian's task very difficult. It is necessary to work very slowly and patiently at building contacts, and also to be very careful not to violate the trust so laboriously cultivated. What I am able to present at this time, for these reasons as well as the need for brevity, is only part of the history of education in Muncie. But I think this part is itself illuminating, and I hope to follow later with more of the story.

Muncie was founded in 1827 as the intended county seat of the Delaware County which was about to be organized. It originally lay in, and has since spread about, a large bend in the Wapahani or White River which according to legend protects the city from tornadoes.[7] Within the present city limits were once two Delaware Indian villages, one known as Oldtown or Buckongalelastown and the other as Munseetown.[8] Munsee was the name of a clan of the Delaware nation.[9] The land was acquired by purchase by Goldsmith C. Gilbert, an Indian trader and later one of Muncie's first businessmen, from a Mrs. Rebecca Hackley, a Miami Indian and the widow of a French fur trader.[10] In this part of Indiana, at least, many Indians were not driven out by whites, but gradually became accepted as white through intermarriage, conversion to Christianity and the taking of English names. Many people still living in Delaware County can claim Delaware and Miami heritage.[11] Indeed the first schoolhouse built in Delaware County, erected in Perry Township southeast of Muncie in 1827, was built by an Indian.[12]

The educational history of Muncie can be said to begin with the Northwest Ordinance passed by the Continental Congress on May 20, 1785, providing for the surveying of lands in the old Northwest Territory and reserving ". . . Lot No. 16 of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within said township. . ."[13] This provision was confirmed by the second Northwest Ordinance in 1787,[14] and incorporated in the first Constitution of the State of Indiana, formulated by the Indiana Territorial Convention at Corydon in June, 1816.

This first Constitution is worthy of some note. Article IX provided for the management of ". . . such lands as are, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this State for the use of schools. . . ."[15] and goes on to declare in Section 2:

> It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.

It is probably not coincidental that this clause is reminiscent of Jefferson's famous *Bill for the Wider Diffusion of Knowledge*,[16] for a large majority of the delegates to this . . . territorial convention were associated with the Democratic Republican Party which Jefferson had founded.[17] Indeed, Indiana was solidly Democratic until the nomination of William Henry Harrison in 1836.[18]

It took a while for circumstances to permit the Indiana General Assembly to carry out its educational duty. But in 1821 a committee was appointed to draft a bill for the purpose, which was finally passed on January 31, 1824. This law provided for the election in each organized township of three school trustees, holding office for one year, who were given charge of school lands and school funds, empowered to divide the township into districts, call together the male freeholders to build schools, examine and employ teachers.[19] It was also ordained that each county should establish a "county seminary" to which scholars could proceed from the township schools, and whose graduates could proceed to the "State Seminary" at Bloomington,[20] which soon became Indiana College and then Indiana University.[21]

The township schools were built, apparently with great enthusiasm. Many stories are recorded of their construction, and of the donations of whiskey and food consumed at these assemblies of citizens.[22] It was possible for a man to buy his release from this obligation by paying the thirty-seven and a half cents which the law regarded as a fair day's wage, but few did so, partly no doubt because money was scarce,[23] but also because the occasion was usually simply too good a party to pass up. The law set minimum standards which these buildings must meet — the floor must be at least one foot off the ground, the ceiling must be at least eight feet high, there must be a fireplace and at least one window, etc. — and three basic patterns evolved, differing in size and arrangement depending on expected enrollment and whether boys and girls were to be seated apart or together.[24] The school southeast of Muncie to which I have referred above may not have been built pursuant to this law, but it met the specifications and was used as a public school.[25]

The provision for "county seminaries" produced different results. No public funds were set aside to finance these buildings, and the operating monies which were provided — to come from court fines, salt taxes, payments in lieu of militia service and so on[26] — were very limited. In many counties academies were founded by various churches — the

Quakers were very active in this — and these institutions contracted with county officials to fulfill this function.[27]

The first school in Muncie proper of which there is any record was a "subscription school" — a private venture in which the teacher contracted with parents to teach each child for whom a fee was paid — ". . . in the winter of 1829-30, by Henry Tomlinson, a native of North Carolina, who had come here a short time previously from Preble County, Ohio. In this school there were about twenty pupils representing eight families."[28] There is also a reference to a "writing school" taught by one Anderson R. East in 1833 or 1834[29] and another subscription school held by a J.C. Osborn in 1835.[30] All these schools were conducted in rooms borrowed or rented for the purpose in one or another of the dozen or so buildings standing at that time in Muncie.

The town's first newspaper, the *Muncietonian*, in its first issue, dated 1837, printed a description of the community and its 320 inhabitants. Among the latter is listed ". . . four physicians . . . two tailors, two hatters, one shoemaker, six house-joiners, one bricklayer and plasterer, two tanners, two blacksmiths, one gunsmith, one wagonmaker, one painter, one sadler, four milliners, one schoolmistress, one Sheriff, one Clerk of the Court, two Magistrates, one School Commissioner, one County Surveyer and Recorder."[31] This indicates that Muncie had been growing at a rate of about thirty persons per year, that it was a fairly thriving trading center, and that there was at least a moderate interest in schooling.

The reference to a "writing school" calls for some comment. In later newspapers there are fairly frequent advertisements for such schools. The "writing" in question was not basic handwriting; it was sophisticated penmanship, bordering on calligraphy. It was regarded as something of an "accomplishment," a little like piano playing, but had the further value of qualifying one who had mastered it for clerical occupations. The persons attending might have been either male or female, but they would not have been children — they would have been at least adolescent, or perhaps older. These writing schools might be regarded as predecessors in some sense of the gymnastics, martial arts, ballet or riding classes currently popular in Muncie, or even of the Muncie Business College which has been in operation since 1908.[32]

For most of its history Muncie has been entirely contained within Center Township, although in recent decades it has expanded beyond these limits. For the first twenty-eight years of its existence, therefore, until its incorporation as a town in 1855,[33] Muncie's public schools with the exception of the county seminary were simply the Center Township schools. Center Township's first trustees were elected in June, 1827, and one of them, Minus Turner, is quoted as saying,

> We built the schoolhouse located in the southeast corner of the township.

> on the Harter farm, known as the "Harter School"; also one northeast of here, known as the "Priest School," and one north, called the "Holland School" — then we skipped a location. The next one was known as the "Shaffer School," and was southwest of here. We built one to the southeast of town, perhaps on the Bishop land; and, a little further south, another one. All these buildings were frame, and cost us from $200 to $400; they were considered cheap.[34]

Center Township functioned as a school district until 1963, maintaining and operating elementary schools, but never established a high school of its own. Students seeking secondary education went at first to the Delaware County Seminary, and later to the Muncie high school, their tuition being paid by the township.

The earliest reference to the Delaware County Seminary occurs in an account by one of the early settlers of a boarding house in which lived ". . . students who were attending the Seminary, then located 'out in the country,' the present site of the West End School Building, on West Jackson Street."[35] This reference would seem to date the Seminary to 1835. It may be in error, however, because there is firm documentation that private citizens donated land and took up a subscription to construct the Seminary building on the site indicated in 1841.[36] It had a self-perpetuating board of trustees, and we can trace a succession of nine headmasters or principals, continuing until 1863, when it was absorbed by the Muncie town schools.[37] I have found very little specific information about the curriculum of this institution, but about county seminaries in general Richard G. Boone says:

> The curriculum . . . was yet fairly uniform throughout the State. . . . It included (1) the "seminary class," in which were taught orthography, reading, writing and the first lessons in arithmetic; (2) the "junior class," comprising, besides advanced work in the above, rhetoric, speaking, writing "in various hands," arithmetic "in a manner to assure practical utility," modern geography, history, and English grammar and composition; and (3) the "senior class" with ancient and modern geography, history, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, geometry, algebra, mental and moral philosophy, Latin, and sometimes Greek and French.[38]

In a footnote he goes on to say, "For a number of years prior to 1850 the Delaware County Seminary, under Mr. Ferris, maintained three classes of Greek along with four of Latin."[39]

Boone goes on to discuss typical textbooks for these subjects, and methods of instruction — for the most part highly didactic — and adds:

> The man of influence, then as now, was the master of argument and rhetoric; then more than now through direct and personal contact. . . . The seminary lyceum of fifty years ago was a training ground of the citizen, and a school of statecraft.[40]

And further:

> Another characteristic which belonged to most of the better seminaries of the time was the semi-professional bias they exhibited — looking to the training of teachers for the common schools. How great was the need for this service the present generation is not in condition to understand.[41]

Describing the academic year in the seminaries, Boone says:

> The school year was thirty-six to forty weeks, variously divided, now into two terms — May to September, and November to March — and again into three or four terms, the latter being the most common, each term consisting of ten weeks. . . The privileges of the seminary being by law equally open to all within the county, they were also, by act of the trustees, made available, and usually on the same terms, to residents of other counties. Indeed, a few seminaries — as those at Salem, . . . Muncie . . . and New Castle — drew from territories comprising several counties, and even from adjoining States.[42]

One more passage from Boone refers specifically to the Delaware County Seminary:

> Prominant among the high-grade schools where co-education was practiced were those in Delaware and Randolph Counties, with thirty-eight percent of girls in total enrollment for a number of years. . .[43]

I have gone into this much detail about this institution because it seems to demonstrate that there was in Muncie in the 1840's and 1850's at least a fair number of people with a fairly strong commitment to education. There is, however, some conflicting evidence. In 1848, the Indiana General Assembly, in reluctant response to long badgering by Caleb Mills, John Morrison and others about the need for school reform, submitted a referendum to the people of the state ". . . for or against the enactment of a law . . . for raising by taxation an amount which . . . shall be sufficient to support free common schools for not less than three nor more than six months each year."[44] In the state as a whole, the referendum passed, by a vote of 78,523 to 61,887. But thirty-one counties voted against taxation to support free schools — and Delaware County was one of these, by 808 against to 715 for.[45]

Why? At this remove, it is difficult to say. I am inclined to adduce an economic reason. Taxes had to be paid in cash — and cash was, throughout the period in question, in short supply in this region. Although there was in Muncie a surprising amount of industry, the local economy remained agriculturally based. Land prices were low — many of the "school sections" remained unsold into the 1850's, and even then sold for the $1.25/acre minimum set by the Federal government. During the 1830's the State borrowed heavily to finance a grandiose network of canals, most of which were never built; this was a major cause of the severe depression that began in 1837 and continued into the forties. Aside from the sheer disappearance of money thus occasioned, the episode left large-scale state enterprises in very bad odor among the citizenry. Crop prices were low because of the lack of transportation facilities to carry the produce to market — there were only six dirt roads in Delaware County in the 1830's, gravel roads did not appear until the 1860's and then were constructed by private companies as turnpikes, and the first railroad reached Muncie in 1851.[46]

Apart from this — in discussing opposition to free schools in general, Boone says:

> It will be remembered that 1848 was a presidential year. . . The issue of the Mexican War had reopened the question of slavery and given to the border States, and particularly the border settlements in Indiana, a new significance, dividing communities . . . into the most radical factions. In the excitement of religious feeling and political bias, and the wavering of industrial and social interest, the claims of education were sometimes depreciated, if not ignored. Political interests in the years following the war with Mexico were particularly exacting and factitious. Children could wait. . . To defend . . . general taxation for the support of schools was, in certain counties, to invite suspicion of one's motives. Its friends were regarded as . . . dangerous to the Commonwealth. . . The opposition was not so much to schools as to free, State-controlled, State-supported schools.[47]

He goes on to add that most of the southern counties voted against free schools, and also that "of the dozen counties maintaining the most prosperous seminaries, Washington, Henry, Morgan, Delaware, Harrison, Lawrence, Parke and Orange gave more than a two-thirds vote against free schools."[48]

I find this persuasive. Muncie remains today, in many ways, a very southern sort of city. Accents, religious denominations, family structures, the astonishingly high percentage of persons bearing pure Anglo-Saxon or Scots-Irish names all are reminiscent of Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee and points south. Further — a lot of people in Muncie today bear the same names as, and are the direct descendents of, the people who first settled the community 150 years ago. These are very private people, with a very individualistic conception of freedom, and when Boone goes on to say,

> Moreover, it was in keeping with a lifelong sentiment of these people . . . to look upon all public schools, State-founded, State-supported, and State-controlled, with teachers having public credentials and civil contracts, as . . . the usurpation of local rights, the infringement of personal and family liberties[49]

he seems to be describing people I know. And since the Delaware County Seminary was as we have seen a reasonably successful enterprise, I am also reminded of a common proverb in the community: "If it ain't broke, don't fix it."

If Munsonians did indeed hold these views in 1848, their misgivings would seem to have been well founded. The General Assembly's immediate response to the referendum vote was to offer a kind of local option: a bill was passed authorizing taxation to support free schools only in those counties whose citizens chose to do it.[50] But while all this was going on, it was also becoming apparent that Indiana's 1816 Constitution was becoming unworkable. A convention was called in 1850 to draft a new Constitution, and at that convention the reformers dominated the Committee on Education. When the new Constitution was adopted in 1851, its Article VIII on education abolished the county seminaries.[50] The Delaware County Seminary was sold to a private buyer, and when Muncie was chartered as a town in 1855, its new Board of School Trustees found within their jurisdiction not one public school building.[51]

Notes

[1] Lynd, Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown, a Study in Modern American Culture*, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., A Harvest Book, New York, 1929, 1956.

________. *Middletown in Transition, A Study in Cultural Conflicts*, Harcourt, Brace and World, A Harvest Book, New York, 1937.

[2] Caplow, Theodore, et als, *Middletown Families: Fifty Years of Change and Continuity*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1982.

[3] Cremin, Lawrence, *The Transformation of the School*, Random House Vintage Caravelle, New York, 1961, p. 303.

[4] Katz, Michael B., Class, *Bureaucracy and Schools*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 124.

[5] The Lynds, *Middletown*, cf Chapter 14, pp. 206-210, most of which compares of the school curricula of 1890 and 1924. Chapter 16, on "School Life," draws an even sharper contrast (pp. 211-222).

[6] Caplow, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5. "Middletown does not make its own history but patiently suffers the history made outside. . . The outside world continuously proposes new ways of living and thinking. The local community steadfastly resists most of these suggestions. . ." This is less true today than Caplow thought it to be in 1979-81, in at least three ways. There is currently occurring a veritable renaissance of local historical studies in Muncie, largely sponsored by the Delaware County Historical Society; old studies are being republished and a small avalanche of new books and pamphlets are being published by Robert Cunningham, Dwight Hoover, Wiley Spurgeon Jr. and others. This looks like an effort to gain intellectual control of Muncie's identity. In addition, Muncie's Democratic Party has apparently found an effective leader in Mayor James C. Carey, who appears to be making progress in revitalizing the blighted city center. And at the same time, out on the northwest edge of the city and in some contradiction, the real-estate firm of Allardt and Dailey (J. Roberts Dailey is the extremely powerful Republican Speaker of House in the Indiana General Assembly) has purchased from the Republican-dominated Ball State Board of Trustees, for two million dollars, two hundred extremely valuable acres and is hurling up a splendid new commercial development. This certainly

looks like people making their own history.

[7] Spurgeon, Wiley, Jr., *Muncie and Delaware County, an Illustrated Retrospective*. Windsor Publications, Inc., Woodland Hills, California, 1984, p. 17.

[8] Helm, T.B., *History of Delaware County, Indiana, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, Chicago, Kingman Brothers, 1881, p. 44. This work is the chief source of information presently available about the earliest years of Muncie and Delaware County. All later studies are heavily dependent upon this book.

[9] Widely known in the area, but for documentation see Spurgeon, p. 12.

[10] Helm, p. 131, p. 215.

[11] I have had two students since coming to Ball State who traced their ancestry to Delawares, and one descended from Miamis. Only three years ago died Mr. Edward Gordon Hale, a resident of Eaton in northern Delaware County, widely acknowledged as the last hereditary chief of that segment of the Miami nation which continued to live in Indiana after the Treaty of St. Mary's in 1818.

[12] Helm, p. 32.

[13] Helm, p. 53; Boone, Richard G., *A History of Education in Indiana*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1892, p. 4, and many other sources.

[14] Ibid. It may be noted that the Ordinance of 1787 is frequently said to be that which set aside Section 16 for schools; but this is an error. The Ordinance of 1787, although it does say, "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," in fact does not mention Section 16.

[15] Boone, pp. 10-11.

[16] Lee, Gordon C., ed., *Crusade Against Ignorance: Thomas Jefferson on Education*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1961, pp. 83-92.

[17] "Indiana," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., New York, 1910, p. 426.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Boone, pp. 23-25.

[20] Boone, p. 43.

[21] Boone, pp. 354-355.

[22] Helm devotes pp. 205-299 to histories of Delaware County's twelve townships, and such stories are told about the construction of the first schools in

most of these. This is true of many other county histories also.

[23] There was a severe depression in 1821; another in 1837. Helm reports the reminiscences of Minus Turner, one of Muncie's earliest pioneers: "When I came, I had only two shirts, one coat and 12 and ½ cents in money. I came in the summer time and kept my money until Christmas. The best part of the joke, in saving my money at that time, was, that I loaned the shilling to a fellow, and he purchased a half-pint of peach brandy with it, which we drank together." Helm, p. 32.

[24] Helm, p. 54; Boone, p. 33.

[25] Helm, pp. 56, 59, 279; Spurgeon, p. 19.

[26] Boone, pp. 42-44.

[27] Boone, pp. 59-77.

[28] Helm, p. 163.

[29] Helm, p. 205. This school was held in the county courthouse. East copyrighted, but apparently never published, a system for teaching penmanship.

[30] Helm, p. 36.

[31] *The Muncietonian*, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 16, 1837, p. 1. Microfilm, Bracken Library, Ball State University.

[32] Spurgeon, p. 47.

[33] Helm, p. 135.

[34] Helm, p. 33.

[35] Helm, p. 34.

[36] Hamilton S. McRae, Superintendent of Muncie Public Schools, "Report to State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1878," published in *Annual Report of the Department of Public Instruction*, State of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1878.

[38] Boone, p. 50.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Boone, p. 51.

[41] Boone, p. 77.

[42] Boone, p. 49.

[43] Boone, p. 86.

[44] Boone, p. 101.

[45] Computed from a table provided by Boone on page 106, giving for each county the total number of votes cast and the percentage in favor of tax-supported free schools.

[46] Helm, pp. 69-76.

[47] Boone, pp. 103-104.

[48] Boone, p. 108.

[49] Boone, p. 109.

[50] Article VIII, Section 2, of the Constitution of the State of Indiana, as quoted by Boone, pp. 139-140, requires the sale of the county seminaries and the inclusion of the proceeds in the Common School Fund.

[51] Helm, pp. 163-164.

Reconstructive Themes in Robert Owen's and William Maclure's Plans for New Harmony, Indiana, 1824-1830*

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Robert Owen's communitarian experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, has long attracted the attention of historians. George B. Lockwood in *The New Harmony Movement* (1905) provided a comprehensive description of Owen's New Harmony.[1] Arthur E. Bestor in *Backwoods Utopias*, (1950) using New Harmony as an extended case study, skillfully analyzed communitarianism on America's early nineteenth century frontier.[2] John F.C. Harrison in *The Quest for the New Moral World*, (1969) examining Owenism as a trans-Atlantic phenomenon, used comparative history to analyze Owenite communitarianism in both the United Kingdom and the United States.[3] My paper examines the conceptual designs from which Robert Owen and William Maclure, the two principal community leaders, operated. I do not imply that either Owen or Maclure developed a specific plan or societal blueprint for establishing a utopia in southern Indiana. Rather, I shall extrapolate their social reconstructive designs for community-building from the ideological perspectives from which these principal characters and their associates operated.

A brief recital of the major events related to Owen's New Harmony community, 1824-1830, is useful in establishing the historical context of the experiment in communal life and property. The outlines of this account are: (1) Based upon his experience with schooling at New Lanark and his new view of society, Robert Owen determined that education would play a crucial role in his New Harmony community; (2) William Maclure — a philanthropic supporter of scientific research and Pestalozzian education — was persuaded by Marie Duclos Fretageot and others of his Philadelphia circle — to join Owen's New Harmony venture as the promoter, director, and stimulator of the community's educational component. (3) Maclure brought to New Harmony a number of leading natural scientists such as Thomas Say, Charles Lesueur, Gerard Troost and Pestalozzian educators such as Marie Duclos Fretageot, Joseph Neef, and Phiquepal D'Arusmont to conduct scientific research and Pestalozzian schools; (4) Many innovative curricular and instructional practices were introduced in New Harmony's schools but conflict between Owen and Maclure, Neef, Fretageot, and D'Arusmont weakened the educational experiment and limited its diffusion to other parts of the United States. In addition, Owen's antagonism to organized religion and the socialist nature of the experiment resulted in a generally negative public reaction that was critical of the community and its leaders. While this conventional account is accurate historically, it needs to incorporate the broader ideological or socially-reconstructive themes that were part of the experiment into the narrative.

At the time of his departure from Great Britain in 1824 to come to the United States, Owen, who enjoyed a reputation as a successful businessman and a philantropist, saw himself as the "prophet of the New Moral World." Selling his interests in the cotton mills at New Lanark, Owen purchased the town of New Harmony and its surrounding 20,000 acres of farm lands from the Rappites, a German pietist religious society, for $125,000.[4] On his way to take possession of New Harmony, Owen persuaded William Maclure, (1763-1840) a leading philantropist and proponent of the natural sciences and Pestalozzian education, to join him in the communitarian venture.[5] From 1824 to 1830, the attempts to create a frontier utopian community continued. At its height New Harmony attracted around a thousand individuals — men, women and children. This ill-assorted lot of humanity included pioneer natural scientists such as Thomas Say, Charles Lesueur, Gerard Troost, Pestalozzian educators, such as Joseph Neef and Marie Duclos Fretageot; Owen's sons Richard Owen, Robert Dale Owen, and David Dale Owen; it included scientists, scholars, eccentrics, and opportunists.

Robert Owen came to New Harmony, Indiana, because he believed the more open physical and cultural environment of the American frontier would be more congenial to creating the new society than Great Britain with its centuries old aristocratic institutions and traditions. Like many utopians, Owen arrived at his vision of a new society by examining the dominant social trends and the prevailing opinions of the governing classes of his day and reversed them — theoretically turning them upside down.

The socio-economic theories of the Manchester school of economics, notably the theories of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Thomas Malthus argued that economic reality rested on natural laws of supply and demand. The "dismal science" as economics was then called, determined that periodic and cyclical patterns of prosperity and depression, of abundance and scarcity, and of employment and unemployment were the inevitable consequences of nature's inexorable laws. Workers' wages were to be kept to a subsistence level so that profits could be invested in new factories and machines. The working classes, according to Malthus' theory, would breed so quickly that the rapid growth of population would outstrip food supply unless checked by famine, war, and pestilence. For Owen, the economic situation in early nineteenth century England and the theoretical rationale that justified it was inhumane, wasteful, and unnecessary.

If the economic conditions of early nineteenth century industrial society were exploitative, the social class structure, with its inherent inequalities, was equally pernicious to what Owen envisioned as the "villages of unity and mutual cooperation" of the "New Moral World."[6] Class distinctions that identified people as aristocrat or commoner, landlord or tenant, capitalist or worker were artificial barriers to progress. Sex discrimination that relegated women to be propertyless victims in a male-dominated society that assigned them to child-rearing, cooking, and other gender-specific tasks was a religiously sanctioned economic consequence that Owen planned to abolish in his utopia. It was Owen's rejection of the socio-economic situation, the early nineteenth century *status quo* that caused him to formulate his utopian design for community building at New Harmony.

Owen sought to design and establish a perfect society at New Harmony. Reacting against the exploitative conditions of early industrial society, his communitarian design incorporated the following elements: (1) the abolition of private property; (2) the creation of a balanced economy; and (3) the establishment of communitarian institutional arrangements. Private property and the profit motive were at the economic base of the old immoral world. In New Harmony, the prototype community of the New Society, property would be held in common by the community's members. With the socio-economic divisiveness generated by private property removed, all members of the community — both men and women — would be equal in work and social status. Liberated from divisive limitations, Owen proclaimed that the new moral person would:

> . . . cease to be a localized being of class, sect, party, or country, or to retain any wish to benefit or aggrandize himself and a few others, confined by accidental circumstances within a particular district, at the expense of those whom other circumstances have placed without it.[7]

In the old immoral world, people were the exploited victims of a wildly fluctuating, unplanned, unbalanced economy. The New Moral World, planned for New Harmony, would be an economically planned and balanced society. Using the imagery of the "machine in the garden," agriculture and industry would be equally balanced and integrated. Labor-saving machines would be used whenever possible to shorten the hours of work so that Utopia's residents could have the leisure to pursue education, music, art, and literature.

Communal institutional arrangements would function to reduce inequalities and to increase efficiency. Community kitchens would feed the communitarians, community laundries would wash their clothing, community dormitories would house them, community nurseries would rear their children, and community schools would educate them. These specialized institutions — along with a balance between industry and agriculture — would reduce labor and ensure prosperity. Women, in particular, would be free to develop themselves more fully.

Owen's utopian design, essentially a reversal of the social and economic situation of early nineteenth century industrial England, rested on a psychological and sociological premise that he proclaimed his great principle of social organization — "Man's character is made for and not by him." Owen was a thorough-going and convinced believer in the power of the environment to shape human behavior and character. Commenting on the role of the communitarian environment is shaping human character, Owen stated:

> It having been discovered that man at birth is wholly informed by the power which creates him, and that his subsequent character is determined by the circumstances which surround him, acting upon his original or created nature, — that he does not in any degree form himself, physically or mentally, and therefore cannot be a free or responsible agent; . . . He will acquire a new interest in all the various circumstances by which he and his follow-creatures are surrounded, and attentively regarding the effects which each of these produces on himself and others, will consider, how, with the least injury or inconvenience, those which create unfavorable results may be withdrawn and replaced by others, the influence of which must be beneficial.[8]

Anticipating twentieth century Behaviorist psychologists such as B.F. Skinner, Owen believed he could shape human behavior into a preferred kind of character. The competitive, class-ridden, sexist social environment of the old immoral world produced selfish, greedy exploiters and poverty-ridden victims. The balanced, integrated, and cooperative environment of New Harmony could, in contrast, produce happy, prosperous communitarians.

Although the "benevolent Mr. Owen" was widely praised for his philantrophy and humanitarianism, his utopian design, reflecting his own paternalistic arrogance, contained a large element of social control. Regarding himself as the "prophet of the New Moral World," Owen, a true believer in himself, regarded his utopian design as the social architecture of the coming millennium.

At this point we turn to William Maclure, who was both Owen's partner and adversary at New Harmony. While he shared Owen's antagonism to the socio-economic *status quo*, Maclure's social analysis and design were quite different. Both Maclure and Owen could agree on what they opposed but like many reformers disagreed on a strategy and goal for social reform.

William Maclure, known as the "father of American geology," was a wealthy amateur natural scientist who traveled widely through North America, South America and Europe. During his travels, Maclure not only conducted geological explorations and collected natural history specimens but he also observed and examined social, political, economic and educational institutions.[9] As a result of his investigation, Maclure reached some strong opinions or conclusions that shaped his design for New Harmony. Maclure's views can be organized into three categories (1) his socio-economic conception of society; (2) his conception of the role of the natural sciences; and (3) his efforts to introduce Pestalozzian education to the United States.

In what was a pre-Marxist social analysis, Maclure saw society divided into two conflicting, or at least potentially conflicting classes: the property-owning exploiters and the exploited industrious classes of farmers and laborers. The property-owning exploiters used their wealth to control political and educational institutions. These institutions and their agents neglected or misappropriated science and genuine education. For example, government through taxation, tariffs, and other legislation acted to benefit the propertied classes. Schools and colleges emphasized religious indoctrination or the classical language curriculum which was not only unscientific but useless to the needs of the working class.

Unlike Marx and Engels who predicted violent revolution as an evitable clash between the capitalists and the proletariat, Maclure believed that the working classes — if properly educated — could gain control of institutions in a republic, such as the United States, by political, economic, and educational processes. Owen's egalitarian experiment at New Harmony provided Maclure with still another opportunity to battle against economic privilege.

Throughout his life, Maclure encouraged the natural sciences, especially for their potential in economic development.[10] Maclure's own work, *Observation on the Geology of the United States of America*, which examined the geology, topography, soils, and minerals of the United States, recommended the appropriate economic development for each national region.[11] As an influential supporter of the American Philosophical Society and as President of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, from 1807 to 1840, Maclure worked to establish scientific societies that would be agencies for disseminating useful knowledge. He also subsidized and supported Thomas Say, Gerard Troost, Charles Lesueur, and other pioneering natural scientists in the United States. Under Maclure's auspices and direction, several of these natural scientists came to New Harmony in what Arthur Bestor called "one of the significant intellectual migrations of history."[12] Their mission was to conduct basic scientific research in the area, to publish their findings in New Harmony's press, and to cooperate with the Pestalozzian educators in disseminating useful knowledge. As part of his design, Maclure envisioned New Harmony as a center for basic research in the natural sciences. The natural sciences would provide the industrious classes with the most useful kind of knowledge. Scientific knowledge would be a key instrument in not only developing the United States but also in effecting social and political change. Maclure expressed his commitment to Pestalozzian education when he said:

> . . . I have considered ignorance as the cause of all the miseries and errors of mankind and have used all my endeavors to reduce the quantity of that truly diabolical evil. My experience soon convinced me that it was impossible to give any real information to men and that the only possible means of giving useful knowledge to the world was by the education of children. About 15 years ago I stumbled upon the Pestalozzian system, which appeared to me to be the best that I had seen for the diffusion of useful

> knowledge. I have therefore endeavored to introduce it into the United States of America as the place I thought the most likely to succeed.[13]

Although unsuccessful in persuading the methods originator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, (1747-1827) to come to the United States, Maclure succeeded in bringing Joseph Neef, (1770-1854) one of his early disciples to the new world. Neef established Pestalozzian schools and sought to popularize Pestalozzi's method which emphasized instruction based on sense impressionism and object teaching as well as a more humane view of child nature.[14] In addition to Neef, other Pestalozzians at New Harmony were Marie Duclos Fretageot and William Phiquepal D'Arusmont. It was Maclure's intention that his scientific and educational allies would join forces at New Harmony. While the scientists would develop new bodies of knowledge, the Pestalozzians were to disseminate it in their instruction. Further, the publications of the Workingman's Institute's school press would convey this useful knowledge to a larger audience.

Maclure created what was essentially a theory of development for an America that was then a developing nation. For Maclure, national social and economic development required implementation of the following strategies:

1. A careful scientific survey of a region's natural resources — its soils, minerals, and plant and animal life. Such a basic scientific survey was to be done by skillful researchers in the basic natural sciences.

2. Scientific knowledge, derived from basic research, was to be incorporated into the curriculum of industrial schools. To create such a functional and utilitarian education, schooling needed to be reformed by purging it of traditional bookish and classical residues. For Maclure, Pestalozzian elements such as object teaching, observation of the environment, and analysis and classification of natural phenomena constituted the ideal educational method. Thus, Maclure sought to unite natural science and Pestalozzian education into a broad strategy of development.

3. While Maclure's theory of development integrated science and education, it was more than scientific research and pedagogy. It also was pointed in the direction of broad social and political change. Maclure wanted the exploited working class of producers to take control of social, political, economic, and educational institutions. Unlike Marx and Engels who saw such basic social change coming from violent class warfare, Maclure optimistically believed that social reconstruction could be accomplished by non-violent political and educational processes.

Although numerous logistical and practical problems contributed to Owen's failure to establish utopia in Indiana — including litigation in which he and Maclure were antagonists — a comparison of their reconstructive strategies reveals theoretical dissonance that was implicit at the beginning. Owen was much more of a utopian "true-believer" in his own ability to generate social change by his powers of persuasion.

In fact, Owen believed that he had succeeded at New Harmony at the very time that the community was disintegrating. Owen believed that his "community of equality" could be established virtually overnight. His optimistic effervescence is aptly conveyed by his frequently repeated statement that the "New Moral World" would come quickly and unexpectedly, "like a thief in the night." So optimistic was Owen about the inevitable success of the project that unlike his earlier reform at New Lanark, he neglected to create needed institutional structures at New Harmony.

In contrast it appears inappropriate to label Maclure as a utopian. Maclure realized that the kind of social and political change he envisioned required the generation of new knowledge and the creation of new educational institutions. His design incorporated a long-range strategy for national development.

Owen, an environmental determinist, sought to manipulate and control human behavior. Even if Owen's notions were altruistic, the implication of his environmental engineering of human character carried sinister portents of a coming totalitarianism. Maclure, in contrast, believed that human beings — if given the right instruments in the form of scientific knowledge and Pestalozzian education — could shape their own destiny.

The brief episode of Robert Owen's New Harmony experiment provides a fascinating and illuminating view of efforts to create a new society as exemplified by the designs of Owen and William Maclure. It also reveals the continuing dilemma of turning theory into practice.

Notes

[1] George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1905).

[2] Arthur Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663-1829* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).

[3] J.F.C. Harrison, *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1969).

[4] Donald F. Carmony and Josephine M. Elliott, *New Harmony, Indiana: Robert Owen's Seedbed for Utopia* (City of publication, publisher, and date of publication not indicated), p. 165.

[5] Samuel G. Morton, *A Memoir of William Maclure Esq*. (Philadelphia: Academy of Natural Sciences, 1841).

[6] Robert Owen, *A supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of the Life of Robert Owen* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858), reprinted by Augustus M. Kelly Publishers, 1967. See Appendix I, *Report to the Committee of the Association For the Relief of the Manufacturing and Laboring Poor* 1817, pp. 53-64; and also see Appendix S, *Report to the County of Lanark*, 1820, pp. 263-320.

[7] Robert Owen, "The Social System," in the *New Harmony Gazette*, II, No. 15, January 10, 1827, p. 113.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects Dedicated to the Industrious Producers* (New Harmony, Indiana: The School Press, 1837). Published in three volumes.

[10] Maclure's continuing support of the natural sciences is documented with his correspondence with Samuel G. Morton, Secretary of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences in S.G. Morton Papers, Correspondence, American Philosophical Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[11] William Maclure, *Observations on the Geology of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1817). Originally published in 1809). Reprinted by Werner Fritsch, Munich, Germany, 1966.

[12] Bestor, *Backwoods Utopia*, p. 133.

[13] William Maclure to Marie D. Fretageot, May 22, 1820, in Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. ed., *Education and Reform at New Harmony: Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot, 1820-1833* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Publication, 1948) p. 301.

[14] For Neef's efforts to introduce Pestalozzian education, see Gerald L. Gutek, *Joseph Neef: The Americanization of Pestalozzianism* (University of Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1978).

Part VIII
PROGRAMS AND PROCEEDINGS

Midwest History of Education Society
1986 Annual Meeting

Friday, October 24, 1986

1st Session **9:15-10:55** **Room 30**

Educational History and Policy

Chair: Joan K. Smith, Loyola University of Chicago

Frank Besag, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
"Conflict in Research"

Chris Eisele, Illinois State University
"Are There Policy Implications in the Writings of Educational Historians?"

George Padavil, Illinois State University
"Human Rights and Education: A Historical Perspective"

Bruce Romanisch, St. Cloud University
"The Modern Assault on Public Schools — History Repeated"

2nd Session **10:55-11:55**

The History of Urban Education

Chair: Jeffrey Mirel, Northern Illinois University

Michael Colky, College of St. Francis
"Jane Addams, Hull House, and Adult Education"

Joan K. Smith, Loyola University of Chicago
"Superintendent William C. McAndrew and the Chicago Public Schools"

Nancy Berteaux, University of Cincinnati
"Working for Cincinnati Public Schools 1830-1900"

REGISTRATION **12:15-1:00** **Room 30**

3rd Session **1:00-1:35**

Chair: Jeffrey Mirel, Northern Illinois University

Panel: Education in the Progressive Era Reconsidered: A Discussion of Three Books

Participants: Jeffrey Mirel, Northern Illinois University; B. Edward McClellan, Indiana University; Ronald Cohen, Indiana University-Northwest

4th Session **2:00-2:25** **Room 30**

The Historiography of American Catholic Education

Chair: Fr. Michael Perko, Loyola University of Chicago

Dominic Everett, Lewis University
"The Latin Question: An Embarrassing Episode of Encounter in American Catholic Education"

Maria Scatena, Loyola University of Chicago
"Teacher Education Within the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence"

5th Session **2:35-3:50** **Room 30**

Comparative Educational History

Chair: Gerald Gutek, Loyola University of Chicago

Charles R. Wolf, Northern Illinois University
"Education for the Poor in Nineteenth Century Italy and Spain"

K.C. Thottupuram, Loyola University of Chicago
"Modern Education and Social Change in the State of Kerala, India"

Timothy Reagan, Central Connecticut State University
"The Memorandum of 1839: An Early Revolution in South African Education"

6th Session **4:00-4:50** **Room 30**

Religious Conflict and American Education

Chair: Dominic Everett, Lewis University

Fr. Michael Perko, Loyola University of Chicago
"Schools for Scandal: Catholic and Evangelical Views of Public Education, 1890-1980"

Keynote **4:50-5:30**

Chair: L. Glenn Smith, Northern Illinois University

Otto Vag, Eotvos University, Budapest, Hungary
"Some Aspects of Educational History in Hungary"

Business Meeting **5:30-5:55** **President's Room**

Social Hour **6:00-7:00** **President's Room**

Saturday, October 25, 1986

7th Session **8:50-9:25** **Room 30**

Research in Progress

Chair: David Angus, University of Michigan

Barbara Schuster, West Bloomfield, Michigan
"The Relationship Between the WCTU and the Kindergarten Movement in Michigan"

8th Session **9:25-11:05**

Perspectives on Late Nineteenth Century Issues

Chair: David Ripley, Northern Illinois University

Robert Lang, Northern Illinois University
"Veterinary Medicine, 1850-1890: The Bogus Practitioners"

Judith Sealander, Wright State University
"Educational Engineering: Progressive Education Experiments in the Ohio Miami Valley, 1896-1929"

Richard Lake, The Ohio State University
"'Spreading the Gospel': The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education in Ohio: 1907-1911"

Bari Oyler Stith, Case Western Reserve University
" 'Best Be the Tie That Binds': Mary Evans 'True Education' and the Young Ladies of the Lake Erie Female Seminary, 1869-1909"

9th Session **11:15-12:55** **Room 30**

Some Notes on American Educational Experiments

Chair: Charles Wolf, Northern Illinois University

A. Hugh Jones, Ball State University
"Education in Middletown (Some of the Rest of the Story)"

Gerald Gutek, Loyola University of Chicago
"Reconstructionist Themes in Robert Owen's and William Maclure's Designs for New Harmony, Indiana, 1824-1830"

Lucy Townsend, David C. Cook Publishing Company
"Artus Kent: Portrait of a College Founder"

Minutes

Twenty-Second Annual Meeting
Midwest History of Education Society
Loyola University of Chicago
October 24, 1986

Pres. Chris Eisele called the meeting to order in Room 30, Marquette Center, Loyola University at 5:39 p.m.

The reading of the minutes from last year's meeting was dispensed with.

Ed Rutkowski reported that we had a fairly good year financially for the journal. Printing and distribution costs came to $144.

Vice President L. Glenn Smith reported that initially 600 calls for papers were mailed. These were supplemented by additional names from the American Educational Studies Association (AESA) mailing list. We received 29 submissions and accepted 23 paper proposals, 1 panel, and 1 keynote speech.

Pres. Eisele will send a letter of thanks to the Dept. of Leadership and Educational Policy Studies at Northern Illinois University for aid in preparing and distributing the program.

Pres. Eisele will also send a letter of thanks to Loyola University of Chicago for once again extending their hospitality to MHES.

We discussed the possibility of meeting jointly with AESA next year. In regards to that, the following resolutions were passed:

a) If AESA offers, MHES will co-sponsor a joint annual meeting in Chicago next year.

b) The program chair shall construct the program so as to maintain the organizational integrity of MHES. The program chair will schedule most MHES sessions on Friday and Saturday.

c) Only papers submitted to and selected by MHES will be considered for publication in the journal.

Richard Lakes reported on a traveling educational history display to honor the 200th anniversary of the Northwest Ordinance.

The slate of officers approved for 1987 are: L. Glenn Smith, President, Jeffrey Mirel, Vice President, Timothy Leonard, Secretary.

Joan Smith called attention to the call for papers from the 1987 International Standing Conference for the History of Education which will be held next year in Pecs, Hungary.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:15 p.m.

Respectfully submitted

Jeffrey Mirel

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